S. HRG. 100-704

MISCELLANEOUS PROPOSALS RELATED TO HISTORIC PRESERVATION

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 1052

TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL CENTER FOR THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION WITHIN THE INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

S. 1513

TO PROVIDE FOR THE INCLUSION OF THE WASHINGTON SQUARE AREA WITHIN INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL PARK, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

S. 1682

TO INCREASE THE AMOUNT AUTHORIZED TO BE APPROPRIATED WITH RESPECT TO THE SEWALL-BELMONT HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

S. 1690

TO AMEND THE HISTORIC SITES, BUILDINGS, AND ANTIQUITIES ACT OF 1935, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

APRIL 14, 1988

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S 311-72

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MISCELLANEOUS PROPOSALS RELATED TO HISTORIC PRESERVATION

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1988

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS,
NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS,
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2 p.m. in room SD-366, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Kent Conrad, presiding.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. KENT CONRAD, U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

Senator CONRAD. This hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests will come to order.

The purpose of the hearing today is to receive testimony on four measures currently pending before the subcommittee.

The four measures are S. 1052, a bill to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution within the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania;

S. 1513, a bill to provide for the inclusion of the Washington Square Area within Independence National Park and for other purposes;

S. 1682, a bill to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated with respect to the Sewall-Belmont House National Historical Site; and

S. 1690, a bill to amend the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act of 1953 and for other purposes.

I will place a copy of each bill in the hearing record.

The hearing record will remain open for 2 weeks for the purpose of receiving additional materials and statements.

Before we hear from our first witnesses this afternoon, I will enter into the record my own statements, and a statement from Senator Burdick with respect to the fort south of Mandan, ND, Fort Lincoln.

[The material referred to follows:]

100TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1052

To establish a National Center for the United States Constitution within the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 21, 1987

Mr. SPECTER (for himself and Mr. HEINZ) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

A BILL

To establish a National Center for the United States Constitution within the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "National Center for the United States Constitution Establishment Act of 1987".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) 1987 is the bicentennial of the signing of the United States Constitution;

(2) commemoration of the Constitution's bicentennial includes events planned by the Federal Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, and State and local bicentennial commissions;

(3) bicentennial activities include important educational and instructional programs to heighten public awareness of the Constitution and the democratic process; and

(4) educational programs for the Constitution should continue after the bicentennial is over.

(b) PURPOSE.—It is therefore the declared policy of the Congress to provide—

(1) the necessary resources to develop a national resource center to undertake educational programs on the Constitution; and

(2) exhibits of, and an archives for, programs on the bicentennial of the United States Constitution.

SEC. 3. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CENTER.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT BY SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.—The Secretary of the Interior (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Secretary") shall establish a National Center for the United States Constitution (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Center") within or in close proximity to the Independence National Historical Park. The Center shall disseminate information about the United States Consti-

tution on an authoritative but nonpartisan basis in order to increase the awareness and understanding of the Constitution among the American people.

(b) FUNCTIONS OF THE CENTER.—The functions of the Center shall include—

(1) serving as a center of exhibitry and elaborating on the history and contemporary significance of the Constitution, through use of the most advanced presentational techniques;

(2) directing a national program of public education on the Constitution, issuing traveling exhibits, commissioning radio and television programs, furnishing materials for the schools, and providing other education services;

(3) functioning as an intellectual center, drawing both academics and practitioners to debate and refine constitutional issues and, at the same time, providing intellectual advisement for the Center's exhibits and public education programs; and

(4) creating archives for programs on the bicentennial of the United States Constitution.

SEC. 4. ACQUISITION OF SITE FOR CENTER.

The Secretary is authorized to provide a site, including necessary structures, for the Center by—

(1) using an existing structure or modifying an existing structure for use; or

(2) constructing a new structure to house the Center.

The Secretary may acquire such land as is necessary to provide a site for the Center.

SEC. 5. OPERATION OF THE CENTER BY A PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION.

The Secretary is authorized to make grants to, enter into cooperative agreements, contracts or leases with private nonprofit organizations which shall operate the Center as provided in this Act.

SEC. 6. AUTHORIZATION.

There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to establish and operate the Center.

100TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1513

To provide for the inclusion of the Washington Square area within Independence National Park, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 21 (legislative day, JUNE 23), 1987

Mr. HEINZ introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

A BILL

To provide for the inclusion of the Washington Square area within Independence National Park, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of June 28, 1948 (62 Stat. 1061; 16 U.S.C. 407m et seq.), is amended by adding the following new section at the end thereof:

"SEC. 8. (a) The area known as Washington Square (bounded generally by Walnut Street on the north, Sixth Street on the east, and the intersecting streets named 'Washington Square' on the west and south) is hereby included within the Independence National Historical Park.

"(b) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to enter into a cooperative agreement with the city of Philadelphia (acting through its designated agency, the Fairmount Park Commission) to provide technical assistance in the preservation and interpretation of the property known as Washington Square. Such agreement shall contain, but shall not be limited to, provisions that the Secretary, through the National Park Service, shall have right of access at all reasonable times to all public portions of the property for the purpose of conducting visitors through the grounds and interpreting them to the public, and that no major changes or alterations shall be made in the property, including its buildings and grounds, except by mutual agreement between the Secretary and the city.".

100TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1682

To increase the amount authorized to be appropriated with respect to the Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 11, 1987

Mr. CONRAD (for himself and Ms. MIKULSKI) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

A BILL

To increase the amount authorized to be appropriated with respect to the Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. AMENDMENTS.

(a) INCREASE IN THE AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Section 204 of Public Law 93–486 (88 Stat. 1463) relating to the Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site is amended by striking "$500,000" and inserting "$1,500,000".

(b) TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS.—Title II of Public Law 93–486 (88 Stat. 1463) is amended—

(1) in section 202 by striking "101 of this Act" and inserting "201 of this title"; and

(2) in section 204 by striking "Act" and inserting "title".

SEC. 2. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall take effect on October 1, 1987.

100TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1690

To amend the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act of 1935, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1987

Mr. CONRAD introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

A BILL

To amend the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act of 1935, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) in furtherance of the purposes of subsections 2(e) and 2(f) of the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to provide financial assistance for the restoration and reconstruction of Fort Abraham Lincoln and related structures located in Fort Lincoln State Park, Mandan, North Dakota.

(b) Authority to enter into contracts or cooperative agreements, to incur obligations, or to make payments under

this Act shall be effective only to the extent, and in such amounts, as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

STATEMENT OF

SENATOR KENT CONRAD

BEFORE THE SENATE ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS

IN REGARD TO S. 1690

April 14, 1988

I am delighted that the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests is holding this hearing on S. 1690, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide financial assistance under the Historic Sites, Buildings and Antiquities Act of 1935, for the reconstruction of Fort Abraham Lincoln, in Mandan, North Dakota.

I also want to welcome and thank Doug Eiken of Bismarck, North Dakota, and Pat Ness of Bismarck, for agreeing to testify today on behalf of S. 1690. Doug is the Director of the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department, and Pat is the Executive Director of the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation. They have done a tremendous amount of work on behalf of restoration at the Fort, and I commend them for their efforts.

The Historic Sites, Buildings and Antiquities Act of 1935 declares that it is a national policy to preserve for public use sites and buildings "of national historical significance." Subsections 2(e) and 2(f) of the Act authorize the Secretary to restore, reconstruct and rehabilitate those sites.

Fort Abraham Lincoln is a site of national historical significance because of the important role that it played in the settlement of America's West, and because of the historical insights that it offers to one of America's most controversial and legendary military commanders, General George Armstrong Custer. It was from Fort Abraham Lincoln that General Custer lead his ill-fated campaign against the Plains Indians to the Battle of the Little Bighorn, and it was at Fort Abraham Lincoln that the steamer "Far West" docked with its wounded soldiers and shattering tidings from the legendary battle.

Fort Lincoln is a befitting and picturesque reminder of the pivotal role that the federal government played in the settlement of the West. The infantry post, sitting high atop a bluff overlooking the expansive Missouri River Valley, and the cavalry post, situated below on the banks of the river, provide a captivating setting for the fort.

The Lewis and Clark expedition, which passed the site of the future fort in 1804 and 1806, proved the feasibility of an overland route to the area. Congress later enacted the Homestead Act in 1862, and settlers were lured in mass to the region by the offer of cheap land. Meanwhile, Congress

granted a charter to the Northern Pacific Railroad, offering it 40 sections of land per mile of track laid through the territories.

These developments meant that the Indian inhabitants of the plains would resent the intrusion of white settlers and the railroad into their lands, and that prompted the federal government to establish a system of military forts, including Fort Lincoln, to protect "the public interest."

Owing to the large number of Indians sighted in Eastern Montana Territory, the army decided that further survey work in 1873 would require a larger military presence. The 12 companies of the 7th Cavalry, which were scattered throughout the Upper-Midwest, were ordered to unite and proceed to the Dakota Territory in early 1873. Since existing posts in the Dakota Territory had room only for those men stationed there before the arrival of the 7th Cavalry, the federal government decided to expand Fort Lincoln, making it an infantry and a cavalry post.

Fort Lincoln quickly became the supply and distribution center for the area and the place where troops gathered for various campaigns, such as the 1874 Black Hills expedition and the ill-fated 1876 expedition from which Custer never returned.

The most famous historical period at Fort Lincoln began with the arrival of the 7th Cavalry in September 1873 and continued through the remainder of the 1870s, the time during which the post was the supply and center for the Department of the Dakota activities and the nucleus of the Indian campaigns. During this period Fort Lincoln played a preeminent role in the expansion of western communication routes and settlement.

The Fort is also known as the home for three years to George and Libby Custer. Hero or villain, bold leader or petty tyrant, George Armstrong Custer lives in minds of everyone who has studied the settlement of the American West. As author and historian Robert M. Utley said:

> The story of the Little Bighorn has endured, in part, because of Custer himself--dashing, flamboyant, gold-braid-bedecked cavalier who inspired love or hate in acquaintances but never indifference, major general at 25, captain then lieutenant colonel in the Regular Army at 26, court-martialed and disgraced at 28, lionized for a brilliant Indian victory at 29, controversial explorer, hunter, plainsman, sportsman, publicist of the West, author, Indian fighter, crusader

against political corruption, personification of the U.S. Cavalry, ideal husband--dead on the Little Bighorn at 36. Surely this brief career, climaxed so dramatically and amid such mystery, contains enough elements to hold the attention of a hero-worshipping public and eternally feed the fires of controversy.

Historian Paul A. Hutton offers the following assessment of Custer:

> A tenacious, fierce fighter, Custer was utterly fearless but was as careless with the lives of other men as he was with his own. Custer quickly emerged as the symbolic hero of the Army in the West and was lionized throughout the following fifty years. Recent shifts in the popular mood regarding the plight of the Indians have led to Custer, still ever the symbol, becoming identified as a villainous figure. Despite this shift in popular opinion, Custer and his last battle continue to fascinate the public.
>
> While still alive Custer nurtured this public fascination. Custer was one of the most flamboyant officers ever to serve in the Army, and most observers

failed to understand him, blinded by either the gallant cavalier or the eccentric egomaniac. But to many who rode with him on the western plains he was "an incarnate fiend" and a "complete example of a petty tyrant," who spared neither man nor beast in his search for glory. (General) Sheridan, who perhaps knew him best, fondly remembered that "if there was any poetry or romance in war Custer could develop it."

General Custer and the 7th Cavalry arrived at Fort Lincoln in the fall of 1873, and it was from Fort Lincoln on May 17, 1876 that Custer and the 7th Cavalry rode out on the now infamous mission to the Little Bighorn. In the interim, however, Custer and his wife Libby made Fort Lincoln their home.

In February 1874, only a few months after they had arrived at the Fort, the Custer home burned to the ground. The army issued blueprints and authorized a budget to reconstruct a replacement residence that was larger and better suited for the military and social entertaining expected of a commanding officer and his wife.

Extensive research in the Old Army and Navy Division of the National Archives here in Washington has established that an authentic reconstruction of Fort, including the Custer home, is possible. The military kept accurate, detailed and extensive records of all the proceedings at the Fort, and historians have uncovered architectural drawings, and the journals kept by the construction quartermaster confirm the drawings' authenticity and accuracy.

In short, Fort Abraham Lincoln holds tremendous potential to offer rich insights into the settlement of the American West and intriguing enlightenment of the life and times of an authentic American legend.

The residents of the area have formed the Fort Lincoln Foundation, an organization designed to reconstruct the entire fort. The Foundation has developed a comprehensive plan for reconstruction and restoration of the cavalry post, the infantry post and the On-A-Slant Mandan Indian Village located nearby. The Foundation has already raised millions of dollars, and reconstruction of the Custer home is nearly complete. Much work remains, however, and the Foundation would like to finish the project in time for North Dakota's centennial in 1989.

S. 1690 will expedite completion of the project and enrich America's frontier heritage. The bill represents a unique opportunity to recreate for generations to come the settlement of the West and the story of a legend. Again, I thank the distinguished chairman of the Public Lands Subcommittee, Senator Bumpers, for scheduling the hearing, and I urge the full committee to consider the legislation at the earliest possible date.

STATEMENT ON THE SEWALL-BELMONT HOUSE HEARING

OF APRIL 14, 1988

Ken Conrad

I am pleased that the Senate Energy Committee is holding a hearing on S. 1682, a bill to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated with respect to the Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site, in Washington, D.C. I introduced this legislation last September with my colleague from Maryland, Ms. Mikulski. Congresswoman Lindy Boggs has introduced similar legislation in the House.

The Sewall-Belmont House has been designated a national monument by the National Park Service since 1972. The House has significant value, both as an American historic monument and as a symbol of the women's rights movement. In 1801, this House was rented to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Jefferson and Madison. According to the history books, he worked out the financial matters concerning the Louisiana Purchase there. The House is also believed to be the only site of active resistance to the British army in the attack on the Capitol after the Battle of Blatensburg in 1814. The property dates back to an original land grant to Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, from King Charles in 1632.

Specifically regarding the women's movement, the Sewall-Belmont House has a richly unique history. It has been the headquarters of the National Woman's Party, founded by Alice Paul, since 1929. Alice Paul was a leading advocate and activist in securing passage of the 19th amendment in 1920 -- the amendment which guaranteed women the right to vote. Her persistent efforts to eliminate discrimination against women remain an inspiration today.

Over 10,000 people visit the Sewall-Belmont House annually for public tours. The House features Susan B. Anthony's desk and the silver tea service of Clara Barton. There are busts of several suffragists who played prominent roles in the women's movement. The Sewall-Belmont House is clearly a place of historic interest and importance -- and deserves to be maintained as a public site.

The original line-item appropriation for restoration and maintenance of the House was limited to $500,000 for five years under the 1974 Act (Public Law 93-486), which designated the building as a National Historic Site. The line item was subsequently dropped, and the Park Service covered maintenance costs from its overall appropriation. By now, expenditures have exceeded the $500,000 cap by over $600,000. It should be noted that even with the additional expenditures, the complete costs of maintaining the House are not covered. Much of its maintenance is financed through private donations.

The Park Service requested and received line item appropriations of $53,000 for fiscal years 1987 and '88. My bill would increase the cap from $500,000 to $1.5 million, to assure that the National Park Service has the authority to continue to maintain this building. This would eliminate the need for line item appropriation requests in the future.

The Sewall-Belmont House is an important historic monument and symbol of the modern women's movement that should be preserved for the benefit and enjoyment of future generations. I look forward to hearing from today's witnesses: Jerry Rogers represents the National Park Service and Elizabeth Chittick, the current President of the National Woman's Party, will provide further illustrations of the Sewall-Belmont House's significance.

SUPPLEMENT
To Testimony on Bill S. 1682 - Sewall Belmont House
By
Elizabeth L. Chittick, President, National Woman's Party
Before The
Sub-Committee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests
Of The
Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
April 14, 1988

I am attaching to my testimony the actual funds received from the National Park Service from 1977 through 1988. I wish this to be attached to my testimony.

1977	-	$ 36,750.00*
1978	-	$ 63,265.00*
1979	-	$ 53,030.00*
1980	-	$ 53,030.00
1981	-	$ 53,030.00
1982	-	$ 50,900.00
1983	-	$ 53,030.00
1984	-	$ 56,000.00
1985	-	$ 54,881.92
1986	-	$ 52,082.00
1987	-	$ 53,000.00*
1988	-	$ 53,000.00*
Subtotal		$ 631,998.92
Restoration	-	$ 500,000.00
Total		$1131,998.92
*Line Appropriations		- 259,045.00
TOTAL		$ 872,953.92

STATEMENT OF

SENATOR KENT CONRAD

BEFORE THE SENATE ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS

IN REGARD TO S. 1052

April 14, 1988

I support S. 1052, a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to establish a national center for the constitution at the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia.

In September, 1985, a group known as We The People established plans for a permanent legacy of the Bicentennial: A National Center for the U.S. Constitution, whose mission was to bring the message of the constitution to their fellow Americans. The primary purpose of the Center is to make the best thinking and scholarship on the constitution available to the public. The Center brings together scholars, citizens, politicians, jurists, corporate, civic and labor leaders who debate and define constitutional issues. The Center is not a monument but rather the embodiment of a process central to the constitution itself -- the process of inquiry, discussion, and education.

As Joan Challinor, Member of the Board of Directors of the National Constitution Center, said in her testimony today, the Center has made tremendous progress in its endeavor to attack civic illiteracy, but is is time for the federal government to lend its support.

S. 1052 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to provide a site, including the necessary structures for the Center, by using an existing structure or constructing a new one. The bill also authorizes the Secretary to acquire such land as may be necessary for a site.

No other organization has undertaken the task of educating the public about the U.S. Constitution the way the National Constitution Center has. The Center, by gathering the best in scholarship and communications, and by creating programs which are innovative, nonpartisan and enlightening, will enrich our understanding of the most important political document in the world. Construction of a site to house the Center is necessary, and I urge my colleagues on the committee to support the legislation.

TESTIMONY OF SENATOR QUENTIN BURDICK

ON S. 1690

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to offer my support of S. 1690, legislation introduced by my colleague from North Dakota, Senator Conrad.

Mr. Chairman, I would bet there are only a handful of North Dakotan's who have not had a chance to visit Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park in North Dakota. It is easy to let one's imagination wander when standing in the middle of an ancient Indian earthen lodge or one of the many calvery guardhouses which stand at Fort Lincoln. So much history is embedded in the 1,000 acres which make up the park overlooking the Missouri River. Just 100 years ago, Fort Lincoln served as the point from which Lt. Col. George Custer and the 7th Calvery conducted its famous raids on the Plains Indians.

The local support group, the Fort Lincoln Foundation, has committed to securing approximately $2 million from private and State sources as part of their five year plan to reconstruct the Fort. The entire project envisioned is just over $4 million. Because Fort Abraham Lincoln is clearly of national significance, I agree with Senator Conrad that it would indeed be an appropriate expenditure of federal funds to help reconstruct Fort Lincoln. S. 1690 would require the Secretary to exercise his authority under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 to provide financial assistance to help rebuild the Fort.

I am pleased that the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks, and Forests called today's hearing and I hope that this legislation receives positive and prompt consideration.

87-986 0 - 88 - 2

Senator CONRAD. Today our first witness will be the Honorable John Heinz, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania.

Welcome, Senator Heinz.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN HEINZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

Senator HEINZ. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. I want to say at the outset I particularly appreciate the opportunity to testify on the bill that Senator Specter and I introduced, S. 1513, legislation to include the Washington Square as a section of Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia.

Mr. Chairman, I suspect you are familiar with Independence Hall in Philadelphia. It is a story that is familiar to most Americans. One can tour the site and learn of the birth of our country. But there is a part of that story that remains not really properly told and very much unappreciated. That is the story of the sacrifice of General Washington's army, several thousand of whom lay buried across the street literally at Washington Square.

In 1777 and 1778 thousands of men volunteered to serve in Washington's rag tag army to fight for an undefined concept we today call liberty. Many of those members of Washington's Army who died in battle at Philadelphia and at Germantown or who later died at Independence Hospital, which was a major Revolutionary War hospital for our side, were buried without ceremony under what is now Washington Square.

The site was originally a Potter's Field where the dead of the city were buried. John Adams spoke movingly of the Potter's Field in a letter to his wife, Abigail, in 1777. He said, "the graves of the soldiers are enough to make the heart of stone to melt away. The sexton told me that upwards of 2,000 soldiers had been buried there." A common grave was given, Mr. Chairman, to these uncommon men.

The Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier stands in tribute to Washington's army. The tomb's epitaph says, "Freedom is a light for which many men have died in darkness." This freedom was hard fought for and barely won by Washington's army.

As the bicentennial of the Constitution has just been celebrated, I hope that we do not forget those who made that centennial possible in the very first instance. Without the commitment of those unsung heroes, there would be no story of the Constitutional Congress at Independence Hall to be told.

It is clear that Washington Square played a role in the American Revolution which was important and complementary to that of Independence Hall, and so it deserves, in our judgment, equal recognition.

I just want to add, Mr. Chairman, that the legislation S. 1513 does have the strong support of 39 local organizations in Philadelphia. This list includes the City of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Historical Commission, the Fairmount Park Commission and a host of other civic organizations. I urge the subcommittee to give this favorable consideration.

I might add that there are a number of the real instigators of this legislation here. I understand Mr. Malcolm Lazin will be testi-

fying and will be accompanied by some other of my constituents. I will not further introduce or say much about Malcolm at this time except that I often refer to him as the Phantom of Washington Square who will haunt the Halls of Congress, including my offices, until this worthy cause is indeed established.

There is great merit to this, and if any member of the committee should doubt the relevance and importance of this site, I would be delighted to take them free of charge or Amtrak or via Allegheny commuter up to Philadelphia.

You can literally walk out the back of Independence Hall into Washington Square Park. Go to the Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier right on that square where, by the way, almost without exception Veterans Day and other similar days are celebrated by our veterans.

I think everybody would quickly come to the conclusion that, really, it should have been an integral part of the original National Park Service site that was designated. Why it was not I do not know, but through some oversight which I do not understand Washington Square Park simply was not included.

This is the time to do it, and I thank the committee for their attention.

[The prepared statement of Senator Heinz on S. 1052 follows:]

John Heinz

Statement of Senator John Heinz in support of S. 1052, legislation to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution within the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands
Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

April 14, 1988

Mr. Chairman:

I am pleased to have this opportunity to express my strong support for S. 1052, legislation which Senator Specter and I have introduced to establish a much needed National Center for the United States Constitution.

The goal of the Center is commendable: "to explore and communicate to the American people the pervasive, enduring and often subtle impact the Constitution has had on American history and contemporary life, and on the way in which we articulate and solve civic problems."

Last year we celebrated the 200th anniversary of the Constitution and much attention was paid to the origination of the document which governs our country. In order to further this learning process, I think it is important to establish a lasting Center to continue the national interest in and debate over the meaning of the Constitution.

I urge my colleagues on the Subcommittee to both join Senator Specter and I as cosponsors and support passage of this important piece of legislation.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you, Senator Heinz. We appreciate your input.

Next we will hear from Mr. Jerry Rogers, the Associate Director of Cultural Resources for the National Park Service, the Department of the Interior.

Mr. Rogers.

STATEMENT OF JERRY ROGERS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is certainly a pleasure to be here today to present the Department of the Interior's position on all four of the bills today.

Could I ask your pleasure about how we proceed?

Senator CONRAD. Rapidly.

Mr. ROGERS. All four of them?

Senator CONRAD. Yes. I think we would prefer you to summarize the testimony that you have, and then we will put your full testimony into the record as if presented.

Then, of course, the other request that the Chair would make is that your testimony be favorable on all of the measures that I have sponsored that are before us. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I promise to come as close to that as the cleared statement allows.

With regard to S. 1052, to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution within Independence National Historical Park in Pennsylvania, the National Park Service recognizes the laudable intentions of this bill; however, we recommend that it not be enacted.

The purpose and the functions of the proposed center are being addressed appropriately through ongoing activities of the National Park Service, the National Archives and several other agencies.

The Park Service, for example, has published a history of the Constitutional Conventional with biographical materials on the framers. That has been reprinted by the archives and is disseminated to the public.

The Park Service conducted last year a theme study on constitutional history to identify national historic landmarks associated with the growth of the Constitution. This study is available to the public.

The Park Service prepared a study leading to inscription of Independence Hall itself on the World Heritage List.

The National Archives has conducted a series of seminars on the Constitution and on constitutional issues.

The Park Service has prepared traveling exhibits, slide shows and books and other materials in celebration of the Constitution for dissemination to the public.

In addition, we understand that a Museum of American Constitutional Government is scheduled to open in 1989 at Federal Hall, another unit of the National Park system in New York City. We provided technical assistance for that facility along with the Burger Commission on the celebration of the Constitution.

The Bicentennial has a number of projects underway that would, in our view, overlap the proposal for the center at Independence

National Historical Park. We, therefore, would not think it appropriate to devote National Park land and Federal money to a building to house a private effort to increase awareness and understanding of the Constitution.

We would have no objection to working with a private entity or to providing technical assistance in planning and interpretation of Constitution-related sites, but we can do that under existing statutory authority.

In the meantime, we are grateful for the work of the Philadelphia Constitution Center and their proponents, for the work they have done in raising funds for a cause that, aside from the points I just made, we think is certainly worthy.

Turning to S. 1513 to provide for inclusion of the Washington Square area within Independence National Historical Park, we recommend against enactment of that bill as well.

As you know, the National Park Service has testified on three previous occasions in opposition to adding Washington Square to the Independence National Historical Park on the grounds that it has not been determined to be nationally significant.

We went through the process by which we define national significance and had the National Park System Advisory Board review a study prepared by one of our national historic landmark historians. The Advisory Board concurred with the recommendation that it was not nationally significant.

We, therefore, believe that it would not be appropriate to add it to the park.

Now, we recognize that S. 1513 does not authorize the National Park Service to assume a management role for the property, but we are concerned that inclusion of Washington Square within the boundaries would be a first step toward Federal funding in the future.

Concerning the Sewall-Belmont House dealt with in S. 1682, to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated for the Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site, we have no objection to the enactment of S. 1682.

Senator CONRAD. You are getting better. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROGERS. We have for many years supplied funding appropriated by the Congress for maintenance, operation and interpretation; that is to say, restoration, repairs and interpretation of Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site.

The amount that has been appropriated has technically exceeded an earlier authority that we thought was the ceiling. In 1976 the Senate Appropriations Committee report made it clear that the appropriations were within the ceiling; however, it is our understanding the Appropriations Committee has now expressed a desire to have a more specific authorization ceiling, and this bill would allow that.

This important property is privately operated, and it would cost considerably more to operate and maintain if it were administered by the National Park Service than to have it administered as it is.

Regarding S. 1690, to authorize financial assistance for the restoration and reconstruction of Fort Abraham Lincoln, ND, our position is that we oppose enactment of S. 1690.

Senator CONRAD. Did you misstate yourself there? [Laughter.]

Mr. ROGERS. No, sir, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CONRAD. Did you mean to say that you support it? [Laughter.]

Mr. ROGERS. We would love to make the chairman happier, but the position is we oppose enactment of S. 1690.

Senator CONRAD. At this time would you be willing to start reconsidering that position? [Laughter.]

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that we have to hold steady to that position.

Fort Abraham Lincoln was the location of an important historic fort in the 1870's that lasted until about 1895, like so many of the forts associated with the Indian Wars in the plains, but it was altogether destroyed or taken away subsequent to 1895. The facility that is operated right now by the State park system is, in fact, a reconstruction done by the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration under the direction of the National Park Service in the 1930's.

Senator CONRAD. Under the direction of the National Park Service?

Mr. ROGERS. As a part of the Civilian Conservation Corps program.

Senator CONRAD. We had great confidence in the direction and management provided by the Park Service at that time. The authenticity of the work done——

Mr. ROGERS. We believe we did an excellent job of training unemployed young men and women and giving them a leg up in life through the Civilian Conservation Corps, and this is one of those examples.

The fort, however, is a complete reconstruction. There are no surviving historic buildings at all from the historic period. The reconstructed fort is not listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and it would appear not to meet the criteria therefor.

Senator CONRAD. May I just interrupt? If something is not listed in the registry, does that mean it does not have historical value to you?

Mr. ROGERS. The National Register of Historic Places is intended under law to be the minimum test for at least local significance in history, architecture, archeology, engineering or culture in the United States.

There are two sides to that test. One is significance, whether what happened there or what was done there was significant in its own right. The other is integrity, whether that which remains there is the real thing, the authentic material that witnessed, so to speak, the happenings that were significant.

The situation at Fort Abraham Lincoln is that the material is not the authentic material, so in that sense it lacks what we call in the register criteria "historical integrity."

Now, the authorities available to the Secretary of the Interior under the National Historic Sites Act of 1935 are only available with respect to properties that are nationally significant, that meet actually a substantially higher standard than the National Register criteria that we have just been talking about.

The 1935 act authorizes the Secretary to assist in the preservation of such properties through contracts, cooperative agreements

and so forth. That authority is not available with Fort Abraham Lincoln because it lacks national significance.

Senator CONRAD. Have you ever been at this site?

Mr. ROGERS. I have not been there, Mr. Chairman, but I am dealing with material provided by our professional staff from the Rocky Mountain Region, who have visited the site; and I have confidence in it.

Senator CONRAD. Let me just share with you briefly. If you had the opportunity to go there, and I understand that you cannot possibly see personally all of the sites, it is probably the most spectacular site within our State. In terms of its public appeal, it is probably unparalleled. It is the high bluff overlooking the confluence of the Heart and Missouri Rivers where the fort was.

You are quite right. The fort was destroyed, but very little happened other than the restoration that your people directed since that time. So in terms of integrity, the site is as is with the exception of the fort itself having been destroyed overlooking the location of an Indian encampment as well.

So the appeal of this place if you talk to local people who over the years have found this to be very appealing would tell you probably without exception in our State, the most attractive site for saving and the most attractive place to tell a story that we have.

Please continue.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I am confident that that is correct. The people almost certainly enjoy seeing the reconstruction and gaining the benefit of the interpretive information that that reconstruction provides to them through the State parks system, and we by no means discourage the continuation of that activity.

What we are concerned about is our belief that the property does not meet national significance criteria. We believe that it would not be in the best interest of historic preservation nationwide to use a legislative approach to authorize assistance as though it were nationally significant through S. 1690.

The State could continue to provide whatever restoration and reconstruction work may be warranted. and we also would point out that there are other programs that are intended to help the State park systems through the Land and Water Conservation Fund, for example, that would be appropriate as devices to achieve some of the same objectives that this bill intends.

I also need to emphasize that in the National Park System we do have other units that superlatively represent the theme in which Fort Abraham Lincoln would need to be considered, such as westward expansion, military and Indian affairs, and so forth. These are well represented within the system and with the high degree of survival of historical remains.

I would be very happy to answer any questions about any of these bills.

[The prepared statements of Mr. Rogers follow:]

STATEMENT OF JERRY ROGERS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS, AND FORESTS, SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, CONCERNING S. 1052, TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL CENTER FOR THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION WITHIN INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PENNSYLVANIA.

APRIL 14, 1988

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to provide your Subcommittee with the views of the Department of the Interior on this legislation.

This bill directs the Secretary to establish a national center for the United States Constitution within or in close proximity to Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. The Secretary is authorized to provide a site, including necessary structures for the center, by using an existing structure or constructing a new one, and the bill authorizes the acquisition of such land as is necessary for a site. Operation of the center is, under the terms of section 5, to be undertaken by private nonprofit organizations pursuant to cooperative agreements.

Mr. Chairman, we recognize the laudable intentions of this bill. However, we recommend that it not be enacted.

The purpose and functions of the proposed center are being addressed appropriately through the ongoing activities of the National Park Service, the National Archives, and other agencies.

Section 3 of the bill provides that the center shall disseminate information about the Constitution on an authoritative but nonpartisan basis in order to increase the awareness and understanding of the Constitution among the American people. The center would, under subsection 3(b), serve as a center of exhibitry; direct a national program of public education, including travelling exhibits; function as an intellectual center; and create archives for Bicentennial programs.

As examples of activities underway or already conducted under existing law, we cite the following:

-- The National Park Service published a history of the Convention with biographical material on the framers of the Constitution. This has been reprinted by the National Archives for dissemination to the public.

-- The National Park Service has surveyed constitutional history in a national historic landmark theme study, which is publicly available.

-- The National Park Service prepared the study leading to the inscription of Independence Hall on the World Heritage list.

-- The National Archives has conducted a series of seminars on the constitution and constitutional issues.

-- The National Park Service has prepared travelling exhibits, slide shows, handbooks, and pamphlets in celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution for dissemination to the public at the various units of the National Park System.

We are informed that:

-- A Museum of American Constitutional Government is scheduled to open in 1989 at Federal Hall in New York City. The National Park Service has provided technical assistance for this facility.

-- The Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution (Burger Commission) has a number of projects underway to promote understanding of the Constitution through educational programs. Their primary effort is in the Nation's schools. Much os this is financed through private and corporate contributions.

Mr. Chairman, the National Archives has possession of the Constitution and the National Park Service administers Independence Hall, where the Constitution was debated, ratified, and signed. The Federal Courts, led by the Supreme Court, interpret the Constitution. We see no need to devote additional park land and Federal money to a site and a building to house a private effort to increase the awareness and understanding of the Constitution.

We would have no objection to working with such a private entity to provide technical assistance in planing and interpretation of constitutional-related sites. This can be done, however, under existing provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act, and would not require new land and/or new buildings on park land.

We commend the Philadelphia Constitution Center proponents for their work thus far on raising private funds for their project. For the reasons cited above, however, we can see no need to duplicate existing programs nor to donate park land for the Center. Therefore, we recommend against enactment of the bill.

This concludes my prepared remarks, Mr. Chairman. I would be pleased to respond to any questions you may have.

STATEMENT OF JERRY ROGERS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, CULTURAL RESOURCES, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS & FORESTS, SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, CONCERNING S. 1513, A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE INCLUSION OF THE WASHINGTON SQUARE AREA WITHIN INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL PARK, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

APRIL 14, 1988

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, it is a pleasure to appear before you today to discuss S. 1513, a bill to provide for the inclusion of the Washington Square area within Independence National Historical Park, and for other purposes.

We recommend against enactment of S. 1513.

S. 1513 would provide for the inclusion of the Washington Square area within the boundaries of Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

S. 1513 is identical to H.R. 105, a bill that was passed by the House last Congress. Specifically, S. 1513, if enacted, would amend the Act of June 28, 1948, which authorized the establishment of Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by including within the boundaries the area known as "Washington Square". The bill would also authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into a cooperative agreement with the City of Philadelphia to provide technical assistance in the preservation and interpretation of Washington Square. That agreement would also include provisions to ensure that the Secretary, through the National Park Service, shall have the right of access at all reasonable times to all public portions of the property for the purpose of interpretation.

In testimony before this Committee on February 21, 1986, we opposed a similar measure because Washington Square had not been

determined to be nationally significant. Based on a technical review by the National Park System Advisory Board in April 1984, our determination that Washington Square is not nationally significant was confirmed by the Board because the property lacks historic integrity. We believe, therefore, that it would be inappropriate to include this Square within the park.

Moreover, while S. 1513 does not authorize the National Park Service to assume a management role for this property, we are concerned that inclusion of Washington Square within the boundaries of the National Historical Park could be the first step toward Federal funding in the future. We estimate that it would take about $3.5 million to rehabilitate and approximately $200,000 (1987 dollars) to operate and maintain it. A Federal role would be unwarranted since the property is not of national significance and ownership would remain with the City. For these reasons, we recommend against enactment of S. 1513.

That concludes my prepared statement, Mr. Chairman. I would be happy to respond to any questions that you or other Members of the Committee may have.

STATEMENT OF JERRY ROGERS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, CULTURAL RESOURCES, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS, SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, CONCERNING S. 1682, A BILL TO INCREASE THE AMOUNT AUTHORIZED TO BE APPROPRIATED WITH RESPECT TO THE SEWALL-BELMONT HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE.

APRIL 14, 1988

It is a pleasure to be here today to discuss S. 1682, a bill to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated with respect to the Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site.

We have no objection to enactment of S. 1682.

This bill would increase from $500,000 to $1.5 million the amount authorized to be appropriated to assist in the preservation and interpretation of the Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site in the District of Columbia.

A total of $1,134,612 has been appropriated and made available to the National Woman's party pursuant to Title II of Public Law 93-486 through fiscal year 1988. Grants totalling $500,000 were made for restoration and repairs. In addition, grants to assist in operations, including interpretation, have been made each year since fiscal 1976, pursuant to a directive in the Senate Appropriations Committee report for fiscal 1976. That report language clarified the issue of whether grants for operations were authorized in the basic statute, by indicating that such grants were indeed authorized.

In fiscal year 1987, $53,000 was provided to the National Woman's Party pursuant to language in the Senate Appropriations Committee report for fiscal 1987 (S. Report 99-397, page 25). Similar language appears in the Senate Appropriations Committee report to

accompany the fiscal year 1988 appropriations bill (S. Report 100-165, pp. 24-25), with the further statement that the Committee expects reauthorization prior to providing future year funding.

The Sewall-Belmont House is a nationally significant property, designated by Congress in Title II of Public Law 93-486, approved October 26, 1974 (88 Stat. 1463), as a national historic site. It is privately operated and would cost considerably more to operate and maintain if it were administered by the National Park Service. We would not object to authorizing continued Federal assistance for annual maintenance. At current spending levels, the additional authorization provided in S. 1682 will amount to $365,388, or nearly a 7-year reauthorization for the project. At the end of that period we can review the project and more adequately determine what may be needed for future reauthorization.

That concludes my prepared statement, Mr. Chairman. I would be happy to respond to any questions that you or other Members of the Committee may have.

STATEMENT OF JERRY ROGERS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, CULTURAL RESOURCES, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS, AND FORESTS, SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, CONCERNING S. 1690, A BILL TO AUTHORIZE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE RESTORATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, NORTH DAKOTA.

APRIL 14, 1988

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to provide your Subcomittee with the views of the Department of the Interior on S. 1690.

We oppose enactment of S. 1690.

S. 1690 would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide financial assistance for the restoration and reconstruction of Fort Abraham Lincoln and related structures located in Fort Lincoln State Park, Mandan, North Dakota. The authorization is stated in the bill to be in furtherance of the purposes of subsections 2(e) and 2(f) of the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666).

Fort Abraham Lincoln dates from the 1870's. The fort was abandoned in 1895. In the 1930's the fort was reconstructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Work Progress Administration. There are no surviving historic buildings. The reconstructed fort is not listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

The authorities available to the Secretary under the Act of August 21, 1935, are only available with respect to properties which are nationally significant. This reconstructed fort does not qualify as being nationally significant. The 1935 Act authorizes the Secretary to assist in the preservation of such properties through contracts and cooperative agreements with their owners. This existing authority is unavailable, as to Fort Abraham Lincoln, since the property lacks national significance.

It is equally inappropriate, in our view, to authorize such assistance in specific legislation such as S. 1690.
This property is part of a State park. The State should continue to provide whatever restoration and reconstruction funds that may be warranted. The theme in which Fort Abraham Lincoln would fall, "Westward Expansion: Military and Indian Affairs," is already well represented within the National Park System.

This concludes my prepared testimony, Mr. Chairman. I would be pleased to respond to any questions.

Senator CONRAD. I think we have had a chance to get on the record the position of the Park Service. We certainly want to thank you for taking the time to come here, and we are very hopeful as this legislation moves through the process that there will be a renewed taking of stock in the interest of these facilities.

I personally invite you out to see this really spectacular location that we have in North Dakota and to catch the excitement of many of the rest of us who have had a chance to enjoy it. I think that you would find you would be captivated by what is there.

We want to thank you very much, Mr. Rogers, for your time. We appreciate the input you have provided here today.

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CONRAD. Next we will hear from our first panel, which will include Douglas Eiken, the director of the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department from Bismarck, ND; Pat Ness, the executive director of the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation of Mandan, ND; and Elizabeth Chittick, the president of the National Woman's Party of Washington, DC.

If all of you would come to the table. We will start first with Doug Eiken, director of the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department.

Let me just repeat for the benefit of all witnesses that we ask you to summarize your testimony and then to provide the written record, which will be entered in full into the record of the subcommittee.

Before Doug proceeds, I also want to indicate that Senator Specter has joined us.

We will hear first from Senator Specter, whose bill is before us, but all of you please stay with us.

We are very pleased to have Senator Specter join us. He represents the State of Pennsylvania in the U.S. Senate, and he is interested in at least two of the measures that are before the subcommittee today.

Senator Specter, we would be pleased to hear from you at this time.

STATEMENT OF HON. ARLEN SPECTER, U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I first want to thank you for convening these hearings. Second, I want to thank you for calling on me at this moment.

The chairman, Senator Conrad, knows that we have multiple assignments, and right now I am due at the Judiciary Committee where they are trying to find a quorum for the genocide convention. Congressman Schulz is having a meeting of the Pennsylvania delegation simultaneously.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear here, albeit it briefly, on these two very important bills.

S. 1052, which I have introduced, would authorize the establishment of a National Center for the United States Constitution to be a permanent legacy of this year's National Bicentennial celebration on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution.

There is much fanfare, much focus of attention on the Constitution. The President of the United States was present in Philadelphia on September 17. Senator Byrd, Senator Dole and a large congressional delegation came in mid July.

The focus on the Constitution and its grandeur and scope and sweep and importance as a document for governance of the United States of America is a matter which ought to be a focus of attention full time, not just on the 100th, 200th or 300th anniversary of this great document.

This National Center would provide for housing in Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Constitution, and would provide for that kind of a focus.

We spend millions of dollars on ceremonial functions of a variety of sorts, and it is my thought and of the citizens groups in Philadelphia, the National Historical Park Association, the Independence National Historical Park, We the People 200 Committee and the Committee for a National Center of the U.S. Constitution of the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, are behind this venture and will provide the kind of citizen support appropriate and helpful.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word or two about legislation which my colleague, Senator Heinz, has introduced. S. 1513, which I have cosponsored, which would provide for the acquisition by the National Park Service of the Washington Square to include that square within the Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia.

Mr. Chairman, if you have not been there we invite you to come and see Washington Square. Once you would see it, the first question that would be in your mind was why is it not a part of the Independence Hall/Independence Mall complex?

I have been a Pennsylvanian for 40 years now. Before that I traveled in Kansas, North Dakota, et cetera. But I was in Philadelphia at a time when Independence Hall was a lonely structure in the midst of blight. Due to the work of Judge Edwin O. Lewis and others, this magnificent mall which is now presented there and as a result of the work of others, the Washington Square has been developed into a great square.

Former Mayor Richardson Dillworth bought a residence across the way, and it is surrounded by a regeneration of the Society Hill area. It is caddycorner to Independence Hall. You walk diagonally across Walnut and Sixth and you come to Washington Square. It really ought to be a part of the Independence Hall complex under the National Park Service.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your taking me out of turn, so I shall be uncharacteristically, for a Senator, brief today. These are issues which I know very well as a Pennsylvanian, as a Philadelphian and as an American, and I thank you for scheduling these hearings.

I very much urge this subcommittee to act favorably so that we can move forward on these two important projects.

Thank you.

Senator CONRAD. We appreciate very much your appearance here today and especially your brevity. We will certainly give close review of your views when the subcommittee takes action.

Again, thank you, Senator Specter, for your appearance here today.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Chairman, I now find I have elaborative remarks here which I would ask be made a part of the record. You are lucky I did not see these first. [Laughter.]

Senator CONRAD. Without objection, they will be made a part of the record as if presented.

[The prepared statement of Senator Specter follows:]

Hearing Before the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests

S.1052

Testimony by Senator Arlen Specter

April 14, 1988

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to submit testimony in support of S.1052 before the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests.

On April 21, 1987, I introduced S.1052 to authorize the establishment of the National Center for the U.S. Constitution. This Center would be a permanent legacy of last year's national celebration of the bicentennial of the Constitution. The Center would focus national attention on the history and importance of the Constitution long after the bicentennial.

The National Center for the U.S. Constitution would be located at a site in Philadelphia, where the document was debated, written and signed. The Center's key functions would include:

Presenting exhibits, elaborating on the history and contemporary significance of the Constitution; directing a national program of public education on the Constitution; issuing traveling exhibits; commissioning radio and television programs; furnishing materials for schools; functioning as an intellectual center, drawing both academics and practitioners for debate and advice for the Center's exhibits and public education programs; and creating archives for programs on the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. Chairman, the National Center will be the only institution in the country dedicated to disseminating information about the Constitution, through existing networks, on an authoritative but nonpartisan basis. The Center will serve all sectors and groups; it will reach out to Americans in every State and territory and to school children, working people and academics.

Creation of the National Center for the U.S. Constitution would not be a long-term financial burden for the Federal Government. The National Center eventually would be funded and operated by a uniquely qualified private nonprofit organization, such as the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia.

This initiative is endorsed by Independence National Historic Park, Philadelphia's We the People 200 Committee, the Committee for a National Center for the U.S. Constitution, and the Pennsylvania Humanities Council.

As ranking minority member of the Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution and a member of Philadelphia's We the People 200 Commission, I strongly believe that the 1987 bicentennial year provided an invaluable opportunity for all Americans to rediscover the unique provisions of the U.S. Constitution.

The three branches of our Federal Government participated in ceremonies throughout 1987. The U.S. Congress commemorated in Philadelphia on July 16 the 200th anniversary of the Constitution's "Great Compromise" -- the decision during the Constitutional Convention to organize the Congress into two independent bodies.

The President in ceremonies at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on September 17 commemorated the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. That same day, the "Grand Federal Procession" was reenacted in a parade which had the largest number of participants in the history of the Nation. U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist and other Supreme Court Justices participated in Philadelphia's bicentennial ceremonies on October 2, 1987.

Mr. Chairman, 1987 created a heightened national awareness of the Constitution and our constitutional government. By establishing the National Center for the U.S. Constitution, we can ensure that appreciation of one of history's greatest and most enduring political documents continues to increase in years to come.

We spend millions of dollars each year on programs to promote democracy in countries throughout the world. What better way to strengthen this effort than through a National Center to continue promoting the drafting and signing of the most important political document in the history of the world?

Senator CONRAD. We will now go back to panel one and again welcome Doug Eiken, director of the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department.

Please proceed, Doug.

STATEMENT OF DOUGLAS K. EIKEN, DIRECTOR, NORTH DAKOTA PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT

Mr. EIKEN. First of all, Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify on behalf of S. 1690. I think it is an appropriate piece of legislation, and the written testimony that I submitted should indicate in some detail why I think that is so. But what I would like to do is just summarize some key points and respond to maybe some of the testimony from the National Park Service concerning the site.

In 1982 we completed a master plan for Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park with the assistance of the Denver Service Center of the National Park Service. It was during that time that the significance of this site was documented and discussed.

One of the statements in the master plan indicated that Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park was established primarily to preserve Fort Abraham Lincoln military post and the site of the historic and very significant Mandan Indian Village.

This land was deeded to the State by act of Congress in 1907. In fact, it was signed by Theodore Roosevelt, where the Federal Government deeded it to the State Historical Society for these purposes.

In the early 1930's little was done at the site until the Civilian Conservation Corps came in, did some archeology and reconstructed, I believe it was, five earth lodges, blockhouses as authentically as possible at that time based on the documents they had, three blockhouses, a museum, visitors center and several other structures.

Then after that occurred, the State of North Dakota acted and acquired an additional 750 acres. At that time, the park was a little over 800 acres.

In the intervening years the State operated it as a historic site, and because of its unique beauty and access to both the Missouri and Heart Rivers, it became an important recreation site.

In the 1960's and 1970's the site was developed through the use of the Federal Land and Water Conservation Fund Program, especially the recreation areas, and some additional land was acquired.

As I indicated, in 1982 we also cooperated, we being the State, with the National Park Service again to complete a master plan. It was based upon their master plan and their recommendation that we have moved forward with the reconstruction. In fact, as part of that master plan they recommended that we apply for Federal registry as a national historic site.

However, that requires some research which we are under contract right now to complete. There is certain archeological research that has to occur. That will occur this summer, and so we feel that all of the documentation necessary to establish us as a National Registry site will easily be available and we will have in our hands by the fall.

However, Mr. Rogers indicates that nationally significant and National Registry is different. What I would like to do is just discuss why I think the site is nationally significant.

First of all, the Missouri River prior to the white occupation of the area was a major transportation corridor. This particular area at the confluence of the Heart and the Missouri provided a trading site for the Mandan Indians, and they occupied this site for nearly 200 years in the 1600's and 1700's.

During that time there were certain fur traders that came up and down the river. They introduced small pox which dessimated the Mandan people, and they moved off the site.

So in 1904 or 1906 when Lewis and Clark came through that area, and in fact we feel we have identified a Lewis and Clark campsite within the boundaries of the park, there were just remnants of the indian village left.

John Jacob Astor along the Missouri River established Fort Union, which there is a historical link between these two. So there was a lot of exploration going up and down the river in about 1873.

Senator CONRAD. Fort Union is a national site?

Mr. EIKEN. A national historic site administered by the National Park Service, yes.

In 1873, Fort McKeen was established as an infantry post to protect the settlers and the building of the railroad, and that also is within the boundaries of the park. Later that year Fort Abraham Lincoln was established on the bottom lands.

Senator CONRAD. Doug, if I might just interrupt, a 15 minute roll call vote has just started. We could either proceed for a few minutes and then I will come back, or we can just break at this point and I will come back. Perhaps that is the best thing to do.

So we will recess the committee. Let us try to resume at a quarter of the hour.

The subcommittee will stand in recess until 2:45 p.m.

[A brief recess was taken.]

Senator CONRAD. This hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests will come to order.

We will now resume with the testimony of Doug Eiken, director of the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department.

Also for the record at this time I should recognize the presence of the Governor of North Dakota, George Sinner.

Welcome, Governor. It is good to have you here. I am sure the governor is supportive of this project.

With apologies, Doug, for this delay, you can resume your testimony.

Mr. EIKEN. No problem, Mr. Chairman. In the interest of brevity I am just going to hit some quick highlights and then turn it over to Pat.

I think the important thing about this bill is that since the site of Fort Abraham Lincoln was deeded to the State in 1907 by the Federal Government, every major improvement in terms of acquisitions and development has been with the partnership of the Federal Government, whether it is the original deeding of the land, whether it was the Civilian Conservation Corps, whether it was the use of the Land and Water Conservation Fund or the completion of the master plan by the Park Service.

We have worked with the National Park Service on this project. What we are really asking here is we need one more bit of assistance to complete the project, and we think we can complete it. We would like to get a commitment to complete it by 1989, our centennial year, to provide a permanent legacy to the history of this era.

We think we can do it with the passage of 1690. I think we have an obligation once the site is reconstructed with the limited reconstruction and the upgrading of the existing facilities, then the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation and the State of North Dakota have made a commitment to interpret forever the story and the significance of this site. I think this is a good deal for the Federal Government, and that is why we are so strongly in support of this piece of legislation.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Eiken follows:]

T E S T I M O N Y

S. 1690

PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS SUBCOMMITTEE

SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

APRIL 14, 1988
2:00 P.M.

BY

DOUGLAS K. EIKEN, DIRECTOR

NORTH DAKOTA PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I am Douglas Eiken, Director of the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department. I am here to testify in support of S. 1690, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide financial assistance to Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park pursuant to the Historic Sites, Buildings and Antiquities Act of 1935. First of all, let me say that I appreciate being given the opportunity to talk about Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park and its important significance to the nation. I think you will agree with me, and with many others throughout this nation, that Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park is truly a nationally significant historic site and deserves the designation described in S. 1690.

Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park was established primarily to preserve the Fort Abraham Lincoln military posts and the site of the Mandan Indian Village. The federal government has acted periodically to assist the state in developing this historic resource. Initially, an act of Congress, on March 2, 1907, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to transfer most of the grounds upon which the original fort buildings stood (75 acres) to the State of North Dakota for the use and benefit of the state's efforts to preserve historical sites. In the early 1930's, the Civilian Conservation Corps became active in reconstructing elements of the Infantry Post, the On-A-Slant Indian Village, the museum and other structures and recreational facilities in the park. Subsequently, the state acted to acquire an additional 750 acres of land to increase the boundaries of the park.

During the 1940's and 1950's and into the early 1960's, the park was managed by the State Historical Society as a recreational site and an interpretive site focusing on the Mandan Indians and the military occupation in this area. In the late 1960's, through the 1970's and into the early 1980's, many of the recreation facilities were upgraded through the use of the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund.

S. 1690 requests national designation for Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park and the renewal of a long term partnership that has existed between the state and the federal government to complete the development of a master plan for the park. In reading through the Historic Sites, Buildings and Antiquities Act of 1935, it is quite clear to me that S. 1690 is an appropriate bill and is well within the intent and purpose of this legislation. First of all, there cannot be any question that Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park is a nationally significant historic site. Secondly, under Section 462 of that act, Powers and Duties of the Secretary of the Interior, the act indicates that the Secretary may perform the duties and functions necessary to reconstruct and redevelop a historic site. These powers include research, surveys, acquiring title to property, the signing of contracts and cooperative agreements, restoration reconstruction rehabilitation, preservation and maintenance of these sites, maintain and erect interpretive markers, organizing corporations to manage sites, provide for educational programming and services and make rules and regulations concerning the provisions of this act. All of these powers are tools necessary to form a continued federal, state and private partnership to complete the development of the site.

Now for some background information. The North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department administers 977 acres of land within the park boundaries (see attached map). Additionally, the state negotiated a scenic easement for approximately 496 acres in the river bottom across the Heart River from the park to protect its historic integrity.

The park consists of seven major areas. They include the On-A-Slant Mandan Indian Village area, the Cavalry Post grounds, the Infantry Post, the museum and headquarters area, a campground and day-use area, and several additional outlying day-use picnic areas. In 1981, a survey was completed which showed the following visitation patterns. Visitation was approximately 180,000 per year. Of that visitation, approximately 45 percent comes from local use. Of the non-local visitation, over 60 percent came from out of state tourists. Over two-thirds of the visitors to Fort Abraham Lincoln come to the park to sightsee, as historic interpretation is a major interest of park visitors to this site and the scenic beauty of the land is unparalleled in North Dakota.

In 1982, the department, through a contract with the National Park Service, completed a comprehensive management and development plan for Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park. The plan addressed the significance of the variety of historic sites within the area and estimated the type of development that was needed to accommodate present and future demands on the site. Total construction costs were estimated to be $4,241,000 by 1983 standards (see attachment). A significant omission from these cost estimates is costs associated with the necessary planning, design, archeological and mitigation costs which are a major component of any redevelopment project on a historic site of this significance. When factoring in these costs, the total redevelopment cost could easily exceed $6,000,000.

Redevelopment priorities included a renovation and redevelopment of the infrastructure of the park including water systems, sewer systems, museum display renovation, roads and campgrounds. These costs are quite significant and have been borne primarily by the State of North Dakota. Additional priorities included reconstruction activities at each of the historic sites.

Because the Civilian Conservation Corps had already reconstructed elements of the On-A-Slant Indian Village and the Fort McKeen Infantry Post, the master plan recommended that additional reconstructions should occur primarily within the Cavalry grounds, the home of Custer's 7th Cavalary. Within the master plan, five buildings were designated for reconstruction, as well as the development of interpretive trails, utilities and parking lots.

The Commanding Officer's quarters, or the home of George and Libby Custer, was the first building to be reconstructed. This building should be completed in the summer of 1988. Additional priorities include the renovation of the large ceremonial earth lodge ($60,000), acquisition of historic properties not included within the existing park boundaries ($160,000), the development of an alternative route for Highway 1806 to increase the safety for park visitors (costs unknown at this time), reconstructions of the commissary ($133,000), barracks ($303,000), guard house ($56,000), and grainery ($125,000) at the 7th Cavalry site. If one would increase the cost estimates by inflation and add to that the costs of archeology and mitigation necessary to prepare the site for reconstruction, one can easily imagine the magnitude of the problem that the department and the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation faces. We are all willing to do more than our fair share, but the redevelopment of this nationally significant historic resource will require additional federal assistance.

In early summer of 1987, Jim Fuglie, Director of our State Tourism Bureau, and I met with Mr. William Penn Mott, Director of the National Park Service, and some of h[illegible] key regional staff members in Williston, ND at the dedication of the Bourgeois House

at Fort Union. The redevelopment of Fort Union is a project that all North Dakotans support along with the redevelopment and upgrading of other National Park and National Historic Sites within North Dakota. Our conversation with Director Mott revolved around the need for the development of a visitors center at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site and the strong interpretive link between the combination of nationally significant historic and interpretive sites in North Dakota.

In particular, we discussed how our four nationally significant historic sites represent key factors in the settlement of the West. These sites include Theodore Roosevelt National Park (preserving elements of our natural heritage), Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (interpreting the life of the first people in North Dakota), Fort Union (interpreting the first attempts to commercialize the economic potential of these western lands), and Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park (preserving the Mandan culture and interpreting the settlement of the West and the use of the U.S. Army and 7th Cavalry in that effort). All parties seemed to be in agreement that these four sites, once properly developed, would provide the basis for a nationally significant interpretive effort about the settlement of the American West and would be of major interest to tourists. We resolved we would strive to get commitments on the development of these sites by 1989, the year we celebrate North Dakota's 100th Birthday.

From this discussion, a new promotional concept was developed. The American Legacy Tour, "Window to the Historic West" was the theme that was used to provide a way to link up these historic sites (see attachment). Within the rectangle outlined by these four historic sites, are many other areas of historic, cultural or recreational importance. However, Fort Abraham Lincoln, Fort Union, Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site and Theodore Roosevelt National Park provide the general framework from which the major interpretive and promotional activities occur.

In our efforts to complete the basic facilities needed to implement the American Legacy Tour concept, we are supporting the National Park Service efforts to to complete a visitor center at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, to reconstruct elements of Fort Union, and to complete a visitors center at the North Unit of Theodore Roosevelt.

I think by reviewing the evidence provided in the testimony of Pat Ness, you can understand why we feel Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park has as much national significance as these other sites managed by the National Park Service in North Dakota. In fact, if conditions in 1907 had been different and people knew more about the overlapping historical significance of the site, we feel the area would now be a part of the National Park system. Senate Bill 1690 has been drafted to officially recognize the historical significance of this site and to appropriate funds towards its redevelopment. We feel strongly that the management of this site is best left to the state, as the State of North Dakota and the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation have signed an agreement to assist each other in maintaining the site, once the reconstructions are complete.

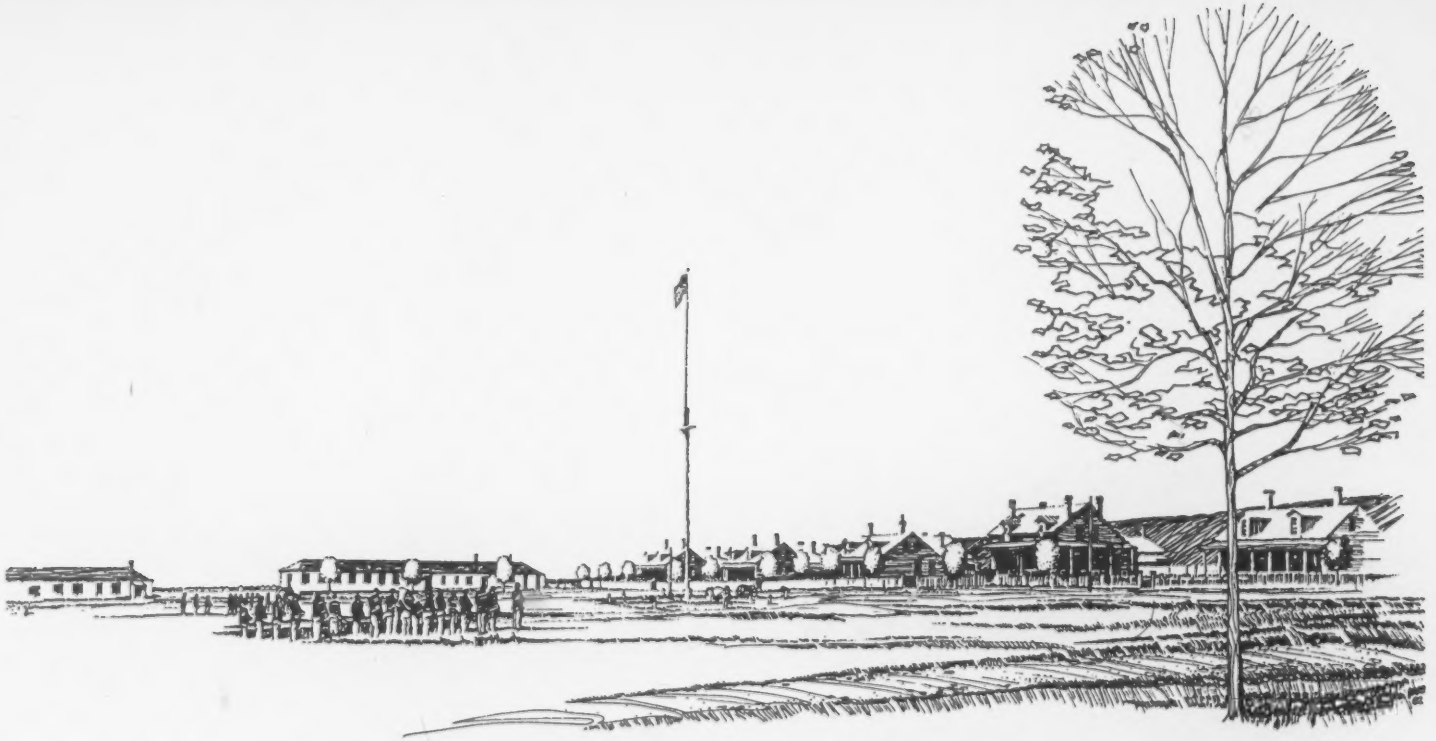
We are requesting your approval of Senator Conrad's bill to allow the federal government to continue its policy of assisting the state in the development of this site by providing up to $2 million dollars in federal grants to be used to complete the master plan. If this grant is made available to us, and needed facilities are developed at the three other National Park Service sites within North Dakota, the

American Legacy Tour concept will be complete. Once completed, the American Legacy Tour can not only provide a concise, integrated and well planned educational and interpretive experience for those wishing to learn about the western settlement of our country, but it will become a major economic boost to North Dakota.

Upon the completion of the American Legacy Tour sites, we expect visitation to Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park to double to 360,000 visitors per year. I believe similar increases could be expected at the other sites within the region. We expect that the four major historic and interpretive sites developed within the American Legacy Tour will collectively increase tourism in our state in much the same way that the Black Hills and Mount Rushmore influence tourism in South Dakota, the national park sites influence tourism in Wyoming, and the Little Big Horn and Glacier Park sites attract tourists in the State of Montana. Senate Bill 1690, and the subsequent funding of other visitor facilities at Knife River, Fort Union and in the South Unit of Theodore Roosevelt National Park will be the stimulus we need to make our tourism industry flourish.

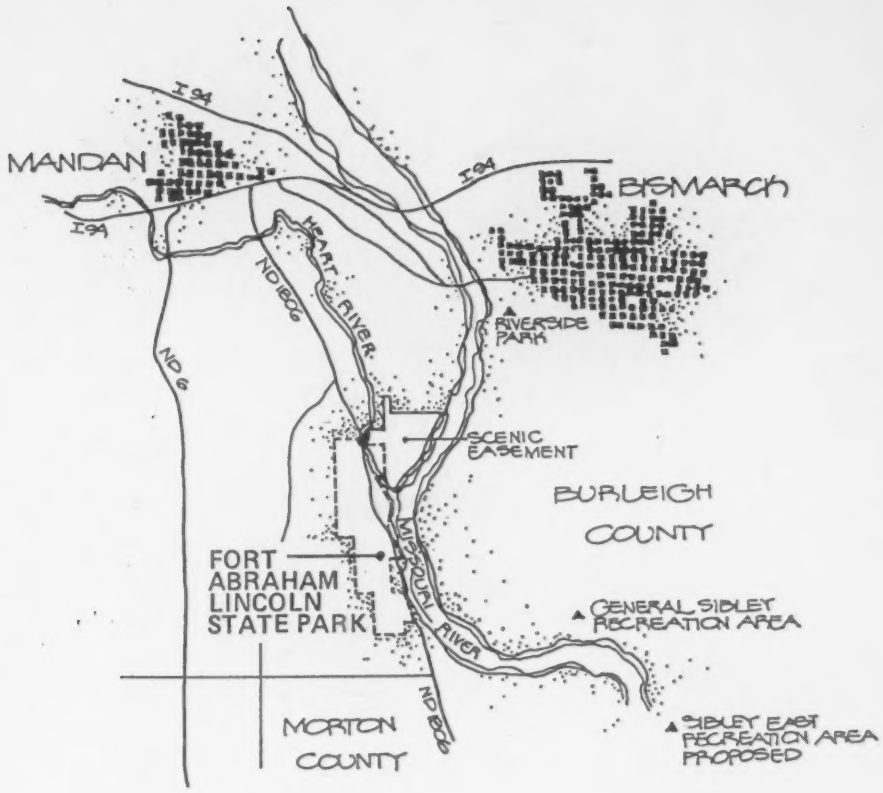
In summary, Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park is a major national treasure. The State of North Dakota and the federal government have had a long partnership in developing this site. This partnership began in 1907 with the deeding of the Cavalry Post grounds and the ruins to the State of North Dakota, was reinforced in the 1930's through the Civilian Conservation Corps involvement in the reconstruction and development of the structures at the park, continued through the 1960's and 70's with the use of the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund program to assist in acquiring land and developing the recreation facilities, and will find its completion in the passage of S. 1690 to provide additional grants for the completion of the development of the historic potential of this site. With the completion of Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park and the development of the other facilities needed to implement the American Legacy Tour concept, the nation and the State of North Dakota will benefit greatly. Your support for the passage of S. 1690 will be appreciated.

I would be willing to answer any questions that any of you may have concerning Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park.



FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN STATE PARK
NORTH DAKOTA

COMPREHENSIVE MANAGEMENT PLAN



VICINITY

FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN STATE PARK

MPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE AND CONSTRUCTION COST ESTIMATES

hase 1
bjectives: upgrade park utilities, begin the reconstruction of historic resources, and abilize erosion of the Heart River to protect shoreline resources

'n-a-Slant Village
- Reconstruct three earth lodges (two completed) . . . . . $ 11,000 *
- Reconstruct ceremonial lodge 28,000
- Construct an interpretive trail . . . . . 8,000 *

avalry Post
- Reconstruct the exterior of the second Custer home . . . . . 122,000 *
- Construct a hard-surfaced, handicapped-accessible interpretive trail around the interior of the parade ground . . . . . 58,000 *
- Remove the existing road; regrade and use the portion through officers' row as part of the pedestrian trail 44,000
- Reconstruct the exterior and interior of one officers' quarters (adapt the interior for use as an interpretive station with restroom facilities and office space for two seasonal interpreters) 354,000
- Mark the other parade ground building sites with wood corner markers . 50,000 *
- Place interpretive plaques at each building site 14,000

luseum/Headquarters Area
- Remodel the museum garage for use as the park trading post (souvenir/book sales) . . . . . 40,000 *
- Remove existing trading post building (completed) . . . . . –
- Relandscape area to create pedestrian space accessible to the handicapped 12,000 *
- Redesign the museum floor plan to accommodate new exhibits and programs, the headquarters offices and storage space, and a library . . . . . 182,000 *

ampground/Picnic Area
- Remove the present sewage lagoon and clear the bank understory to open the shoreline 9,000
- Stabilize the Heart River shoreline 218,000

ccess/Circulation
- Construct a 100-car parking area at the cavalry post 120,000
- Obliterate the existing cavalry post entrance road, construct new access road 80,000

perations
- Rehabilitate the ranger residence, construct a two-car garage, and make site improvements . . . . . 14,000 *

tilities
- Install new park utility systems (water, sewer, power, telephone) . . . . 314,000 *

Subtotal, Phase 1 . . . . . $1,676,000

Phase 2
Objectives: continue the reconstruction of historic resources, begin consolidating management facilities, expand the day use capacities of the park, and begin expanding support facilities for increasing numbers of visitors

Cavalry Post
1. Reconstruct the exteriors of
   - one barracks . . . . . $ 303,000
   - commissary storehouse 133,000
   - guardhouse 56,000
2. Obliterate the CCC barns 90,000

Infantry Post
1. Mark all structures with plaques, outline building sites with chains and bollards 60,000
2. Construct hard-surfaced, handicapped-accessible interpretive trail 44,000
3. Stabilize two infantry post blockhouses 44,000

Campground/Picnic Area
1. Reconstruct the road system to accommodate redevelopment; begin assigned camping 12,000
2. Construct two small picnic shelters 50,000
3. Construct a 44-car parking lot 53,000
4. Install one comfort station 60,000

Access/Circulation
1. Improve the access road to the infantry post to resolve drainage problems * 7,000
2. Construct a new entrance station at the north end of the park 126,000
3. Remove the entrance station at the infantry post 2,000
4. Reduce speed on ND 1806 to 15-25 mph . . . . . no cost

Subtotal, Phase 2 . . . . . $1,000,000

* COMPLETE

87-986 O - 88 - 3

Phase 3

Objectives: continue the reconstruction of historic resources, provide additional day use facilities, begin an expansion of the park interpretive facilities, and continue improving management facilities

Cavalry Post	
1. Expand the new parking lot by 40 cars (140 total)	$ 48,000
Infantry Post	
1. Redesign the infantry post parking area (50 cars)	60,000
Campground/Picnic Area	
1. Construct one large and two small picnic shelters	100,000
2. Construct a 49-car parking lot	53,000
3. Construct a 21-car parking lot	28,000
4. Install one comfort station	60,000
5. Construct an amphitheater	50,000
6. Construct a 6-car parking lot at the Hillside shelter	8,000
7. Remodel the Sunken Garden parking lot (6 cars)	8,000
8. Provide two pit toilets at the Sunken Garden picnic area	8,000
Subtotal, Phase 3	$ 421,000

Phase 4

Objectives: continue the reconstruction of historic resources, provide additional day use facilities, and expand the park's interpretive program

Campground/Picnic Area	
1. Obliterate the infantry post picnic shelter	$ 2,000
2. Relocate the snowmobile shelter to the new cavalry post parking area, add restroom facilities	64,000
3. Construct one large picnic shelter	50,000
4. Relocate the existing entrance road to the south	169,000
5. Construct a 42-car parking lot adjacent to the snowmobile shelter	50,000
6. Relocate the contact station	2,000
7. Relandscape the new entrance area	10,000
Museum/Headquarters Area	
1. Expand the existing parking lot to accommodate 144 cars	124,000
Operations	
1. Acquire the breastworks property	unknown
2. Acquire a 200-yard scenic easement to the west and north of the park boundary	unknown
3. Acquire lands south of the maintenance area along the river shoreline	unknown
4. Obliterate the existing maintenance area entrance road	30,000
5. Construct a new maintenance area entrance road	25,000
Subtotal, Phase 4	$ 538,000

Phase 5

Objectives: complete the reconstruction of the historic resources, complete the consolidation of management facilities, complete the development of day use facilities, and complete an expanded park interpretive program

Campground/Picnic Area	
1. Construct a 22-car parking lot	$ 27,000
2. Construct a 20-car parking lot	24,000
3. Install one comfort station	60,000
Operations	
1. Berm and screen the maintenance area	63,000
2. Fence the maintenance area (2,250 linear feet)	34,000
Trails	
1. Provide a loop trail system connecting the breastworks, cavalry post, and infantry post, following historic alignments to the extent possible	35,000
2. Construct a bicycling/hiking trail to Mandan along the abandoned railroad right-of-way	345,000
3. Provide shoreline trail system (8,000 linear feet with woodchip surface)	30,000
Subtotal, Phase 5	$ 618,000
Total Construction Costs (1983 dollars)	$4,241,000

Senator CONRAD. Thank you very much, Doug. We appreciate that testimony.

Next we will hear from Pat Ness, who is the executive director of the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation.

I should mention for the record that this is Pat's birthday, I am reliably informed. So this will be a nice present. I am told the Park Service is now reconsidering their position. [Laughter.]

Senator CONRAD. I think that shows how really friendly the Federal Government can be.

Pat.

STATEMENT OF PAT NESS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION

Ms. NESS. Thank you very much, and greetings from North Dakota.

Doug has told you of some of the nuts and bolts of our project. I would like to give you some of the color and perhaps let you know what sort of emotional commitment the people of North Dakota have to Fort Abraham Lincoln project and how we feel about it, those of us on the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation.

In 1982 the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation was formed to begin the process of reconstructing elements of Old Fort Abraham Lincoln. The foundation is committed to the redevelopment of the fort's historic resources and to assist the state in its interpretive programming.

This project will enhance and promote an understanding of the historical significance of the site and its permanent contribution to the history of North Dakota and the United States.

The Foundation is resolved to reconstruct five of the original 78 buildings at the original fort.

George Amstrong Custer was one of the most controversial figures of all time. He was a charismatic leader, a heroic symbol, a vainglorious egotist, and some said a fool, but Custer remains an irresistible figure. As a dashing cavalryman dressed in buckskins or the handsome uniform of the 7th Calvary, Custer lives on in debates and speculations and is still causing controversy. He is still a legend, and it is the home in which George and Libbie Custer shared his last few years together that the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation has chosen as their first project in the development of Fort Abraham Lincoln.

To appreciate the historical, cultural and educational significance of the reconstructed Custer house, it is important to somewhat understand what Custer brought to Fort Abraham Lincoln in what was still considered wilderness in the 1870's.

The fort itself was built with haste with lumber that was green, and the buildings were drafty, cold and uncomfortable, very hot in the summer. Water had to be hauled daily, and in wintertime it was not easy. Libbie Custer tells in her book, "Boots and Saddles," of the soldiers having to go down to the Missouri and cut through feet of ice to bring water to the fort.

Their diet, those of the 7th Calvary, consisted of beans, bread and bacon and coffee in the winter. In the summertime that was

supplemented with fresh vegetables raised by some of the officers' wives at the fort.

Contrasted with this harsh and dull existence was the lifestyle of Libbie and George Custer. They had a handsome, comfortable home. You have a picture there, Senator. That was done by the State Historical Society. That was the original house. It was a small slice of civilization on that harsh prairie.

The group of 7th Calvary officers and their wives thrown together on this vast Dakota prairie from a variety of backgrounds were determined to make the very best of things. Libbie found her home so suitable and enjoyable for entertaining that she wrote of feeling like a guest at her own parties. There were costume balls, church services, dinners, billiard games and dancing. The Custer home served as the social center for the officers of Fort Abraham Lincoln.

The vision, tenacity and commitment of the members of the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation is apparent in the reality of the almost completed Custer home. The pictures that you have in color were taken 2 days ago, Senator, at the site. The foundation can take tremendous pride in the fact that with western grit and determination their dream is becoming a reality.

Additionally, this project will integrate its programs and facilities with other major historic sites in the region, Fort Snelling in Minnesota, Fort Laramie in Wyoming, the Little Big Horn Battlefield in Montana, and Fort Robinson in Nebraska. Together they could provide a unified system of developed historic sites that could be a national treasure.

The purpose of the completed reconstruction of Fort Abraham Lincoln can be summarized thusly. The Little Big Horn Battlefield is a monument to the deaths of 265 members of the 7th Calvary and unknown numbers of the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho nations. We, the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation, want Fort Abraham Lincoln to stand as a treasured memory to those lives.

One last comment. In June 1931 on the eve of the 55th anniversary of the Battle of Little Big Horn, Libbie Custer was saddened to hear of a recent order to dismantle some of the old frontier forts as an economy measure. She was then almost 90 years old, and she wrote this.

> It does seem as if some of the old forts ought to be spared. We ought not to allow every vestige of that period to die. After all, this country has very little history considering its youth and how big it is, and we should preserve what we have had.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Ness follows:]

STATEMENT OF

PAT NESS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION
MANDAN, NORTH DAKOTA

BEFORE THE

SENATE ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
COMMITTEE
SUB-COMMITTEE

ON

PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS

APRIL 14, 1988

THE RESTORATION OF FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN
A LEGACY OF LIVING HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

In 1982, the FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION was formed to begin the process of reconstructing elements of old FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN. The Foundation is committed to the redevelopment of the fort's historic resources, and to assist the state in its interpretive programming. This project will enhance and promote an understanding of the historical significance of this site and its permanent contribution to the history of North Dakota and the United States. The potential for interpretation, education, and as a tourist attraction is the major reason that the redevelopment project has such universal support among the people of our state and nation. The FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION is resolved to reconstruct five of the original seventy eight buildings at the original fort.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT

FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN STATE PARK has a unique history. The site contains one of the best undisturbed remnants of the historic Mandan Indians. Four earthlodges have been reconstructed at the site, the pictures of the village have been included in a variety of national publications. The significance of On-A-Slant Village is recognized nationally and internationally by plains Indian scholars.

The park is bordered by both the Missouri and Heart Rivers. The history of exploration along these rivers, including the Verendrye, Catlin, Maximilian and Bodmer, Lewis and Clark, and Audubon expeditions, is legendary. A Lewis and Clark Expedition campsite has been identified within this 1,250 acre Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park.

Both Fort McKeen, the site of a 6th Infantry Company assigned to Dakota Territory, Fort Abraham Lincoln, the home of Custer's 7th Cavalry, and the On-A-Slant Village are located within the park boundaries.

It is at these sites where additional reconstructions are planned. Bill Wood, immediate Past President of the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation said, "Our chief concern is preserving the heritage of this area. There is so much history that can be developed and interpreted. It would be of real significance to reconstruct Fort Abraham Lincoln and interpret the culture and life there. The project could, of course, benefit the state of North Dakota through the economic impact of added tourism."

MAY 17, 1876. FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, DAKOTA TERRITORY

The Seventh Cavalry mounts up and circles the parade grounds for one last chance to say goodbye. Custer bends down from his saddle and embraces Libbie Custer, muttering to her a simple goodbye.

As the column gets under way, a thick ground fog lifts, and by a rare meteorological phenomenon, the army of soldiers, horses, artillery, and wagons with covers of white canvas is reflected in the heavens overhead. In her book, Boots and Saddles, Libbie Custer said the scene was one of 'wonder and beauty', yet she was troubled. She felt uneasy about her husband leading his troops across the sky.

General George Armstrong Custer was one of the most controversial figures of all time. He was a charismatic leader, heroic symbol, vainglorious egotist, and some said, a fool, but Custer remains an irresistable figure. As a dashing cavalryman clad in buckskins or the handsome uniform of the Seventh Cavalry, Custer lives on in debates and speculations and is still causing controversy - still the legend.

JUNE 21, 1876. CAMP AT THE MOUTH OF THE ROSEBUD RIVER.

Following a strategy session, Custer leaves the regimental band behind. The Seventh Cavalry follows Rosebud River, navigating the hilly terrain. It is hot, over 100°, and the soldiers are weary. They are fed stale bread, pebblehard beans, salty bacon, green coffee and a cup of 'Old Tanglefoot'.

SUNDAY, JUNE 25, 1876.

For some reason yet to be explained, Custer splits his forces. Reno is first to engage the battle, but quickly retreats across the river to a knoll. Custer sights the Indian village, estimated to be 4,000 strong, and sends an urgent message to the trailing supply train.

"Come on. Big village. Be quick. Bring packs."

In the time it takes the sun to move the width of one lodge pole, thousands of brilliantly decorated and vividly painted Indians blowing bone whistles and screaming in a high pitch descend upon the Seventh Cavalry. In clouds of dust, bullets, noise, sweat and confusion, Cheyennes, Sioux, and Blackfeet sweep over Custer's command of terrified troopers.

Chief Crazy Horse of the Sioux, leads mounted warriors around Custer's right flank; Chief Gall, also Sioux, takes a larger force on foot through the creeks and gullies, killing everyone they find. Chief Sitting Bull, the Sioux medicine man and motivator, remains until the battle is ended and then leads his people to Canada. The losses of the Seventh Cavalry were estimated at 265 men, while the losses to the Indian nation have never been determined.

The surviving Indian scouts and the wounded were taken to the mouth of the Little Big Horn River and put aboard the Farwest steamboat. The Farwest set a record time for the 750 river miles that it covered to Bismarck. They made it in fifty four hours and that record still stands for steamboats.

The Farwest docked at the Bismarck landing at eleven in the evening on July 5, whereupon they rushed to awaken Colonel Lounsberry of the Bismarck Tribune, and John Carnahan, a telegrapher. They went directly to the telegraph office in Bismarck, and John Carnahan telegraphed for eighty hours straight to get the news to overall Army headquarters in Chicago, where General Philip Sheridan then informed President Ulysses S. Grant and a stunned nation of the tragedy of Little Big Horn.

What happened to Libbie Bacon Custer? She was allowed to remain at Fort Abraham Lincoln for one month, in order to pack her belongings, and then she crossed the Missouri River for the last time, and spent another month in Bismarck in the Raymond House on Third Street.

Libbie returned to Michigan, without any help from the United States Army...they did not pay a single cent of her expenses after the death of her husband.

Libbie eventually moved to New York City, where she lived out her life writing articles and books - in defense of her husband's reputation. She died in 1933 in New York at the age of ninety one, a loving and devoted wife to the end.

It is the home in which George and Libbie Custer shared his last few years together that the FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION has chosen as their first project in the development of FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN. The reconstructed Custer house now rises above the prairie parade ground overlooking the mighty Missouri River. The upstairs windows allow a commanding view of the junction of the Heart River and the Missouri River. Construction of the Custer house was begun in 1987, with completion scheduled for North Dakota's Centennial year of 1989. It is the goal of the FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION to reconstruct five major buildings at FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, located four and one half miles south of Mandan, North Dakota, at FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN STATE PARK.

To appreciate the historical, cultural, and educational significance of the reconstructed Custer house, it is important to understand what Custer brought to Fort Abraham Lincoln in what was still considered wilderness in the 1870s.

Military presence in Dakota Territory was necessary for the Northern Pacific Railroad to survey its route and lay track. In addition to protecting the railroad survey crews, the post served as regional Army headquarters, overseeing the activities of Forts Rice and Stevenson, Camp Hancock, and the Grand River Indian Reservation. FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN provided the base support for several scientific and military expeditions, the most well known of these being the Yellowstone Expedition of 1873 and the Black Hills Expedition of 1874.

FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN was built with haste, with lumber that quickly warped, leaving the buildings drafty and uncomfortable. Winters were cold and the summers excruciatingly hot. Water had to be hauled daily, which meant chopping through several feet of Missouri River ice in winter. The food was terrible. Rations were old, fruit was unknown, an onion was a big event. The diet consisted of beans, bread, bacon, and coffee.

Contrasted with this harsh and dull existence was the lifestyle of Libbie and George Armstrong Custer. Libbie loved to entertain. They had many parties featuring excellent dinners of game prepared by Custer's personal cook, followed by dancing to the accompaniment of the regimental band. General Custer kept a billiard room and a well stocked library, although ideas didn't interest him as much as action. The Custers had furniture from Michigan, fine china, and a chandelier and grand piano from St. Paul.

It was a handsome and comfortable home, a small slice of civilization on a harsh prairie.

The Custers lived in their first home in FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN for less than a year before it burned on a February night in 1874. Libbie awoke George about a noise in the chimney; he investigated, stomping on the floor of the room above them. This ignited insulating paper saturated with coal-oil, the fire exploded and the house was gone in minutes.

Within months the design for a new house arrived; Custer set out to add his personal touches to the new home and to bring it more in line with his view of a commanding officer's quarters. Over the same site as the burned home, the new house was quickly built. It had a thirty two foot living room with a bay window, a billiard room, library, plenty of rooms for guests, his gun collection and his hunting trophies.

The small group of officers and wives, thrown together on the prairie from a variety of backgrounds, were determined to make the best of things. Libbie found her new home so suitable and enjoyable for entertaining that she wrote of feeling like a guest at her own parties. There were costume balls, church services, dinners, billiard games, and dancing; the Custer home served as the social center for the officers of Fort Abraham Lincoln.

CONCLUSION

The vision, tenacity and commitment of the members of the FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION is apparent in the reality of the almost completed Custer home. The Foundation can take tremendous pride in the fact that with western grit and determination their dream is becoming a reality.

Additionally, the FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN project will integrate its program and facilities with other major historic sites in the region; Fort Snelling in Minnesota, Fort Laramie in Wyoming, the Little Big Horn Battlefield in Montana, and Fort Robinson in Nebraska. Together they will provide a unified system of developed historic sites that will be a national treasure.

The purpose of the completed reconstruction of FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN can be summarized by the following statement; "The Little Big Horn Battlefield is a monument to the deaths of 265 members of the Seventh Cavalry and unknown numbers of the Sioux and Cheyenne nations. We, (the FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION) want FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN to stand as a treasured memory to their lives."

Respectfully Submitted,

Pat Ness

Pat Ness
Executive Director
FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION

ADDENDUM:

The information for the foregoing testimony was obtained from the following sources:

State Historical Society of North Dakota

Fort Abraham Lincoln Master Plan

North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department

"Bugles, Banners and War Bonnets"
by Ernest L. Reedstrom

"Custer's Luck"
by Edgar I. Stewart

"Custer in '76"
by Walter Camp

"Boots and Saddles"
by Libbie Custer

Bismarck Tribune, July 6, 1876

Senator CONRAD. Thank you very much. I can see the Park Service starting to weaken in their position. [Laughter.]

Next we will hear from Elizabeth Chittick, the president of the National Woman's Party, with respect to the Sewall-Belmont House legislation which I have cosponsored along with Senator Mikulski.

As a personal note, I lived in the Sewall-Belmont House in the summer of 1966, and I want to indicate for the record that it was really I who pursued Mrs. Chittick and indicated that I was eager to be helpful if there was some way that I could be, because I remember fondly what I learned about the history of that great national treasure when I lived there.

She was ever ready to make a suggestion, and so that is the history of what we are doing here today.

Mrs. Chittick.

STATEMENT OF ELIZABETH L. CHITTICK, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

Mrs. CHITTICK. Thank you, Senator and members of the committee for allowing me to testify in support of your S. 1682, which would strike out the limitation of $500,000 in public law previously mentioned to increase it to $1,500,000.

Why are we here today to testify for this? I have submitted my testimony in detail, but you should know that this started because in September of 1968 the Park Service came to me and, truly, it was on the last day that we could get any line item in the appropriation bill, and said we have no more funds to support the Sewall-Belmont House. So luckily I was able to get a line item in the appropriation bill of 1987 and also in this year of 1988.

At the same time when they told us that there would be no more funds for maintenance, they also said that they had overspent the limitation of $500,000 by $250,000. That was what they said at that time. Since that time, we have been told that the amount is close to $1,200,000, which, if this bill is passed with $1,500,000, would really only leave $300,000 left for maintenance.

I might say here that I am delighted that the Park Service did approve some maintenance for the Sewall-Belmont House, and I am sorry he turned down all of the other events which I know are dear to the Senator's heart.

What I mean to say is that we have been getting this $53,000 for 12 years. I need to tell you that since that time inflation has hit us, and obviously $50,000 does not maintain the house. It only partially maintains the house, and we support the maintenance of the house in addition to that by having receptions and by other donations.

In the total amount of all the funds, I think one of the items that must be addressed is are the line item appropriations to be included in the moneys that are included above that $500,000. If they are not included, I would say that in 1977, 1978, 1979 and 1987 and 1988 they were line items which, if they were deducted from the total moneys given to the Sewall-Belmont House for restoration and maintenance, the amount would go below the $1 million, would be something like $970,000.

If it is included, then, of course, the amount would be $1,200,000 in round figures.

So I think some decision must be made. Are these line items part of this, or are they not?

We are open to the public. We are historic, as the Senator knows. We have been restored, and I might say of that funding, $500,000 was used for the restoration, not for maintenance.

I would also like to say that we have had about 10,000 people coming through the house for tours within the last two years, and we have had people from all over the world, Europe, South America, Africa, New Zealand, Australia. We represent the only house left standing where the contemporary women's rights movement was conducted from 1929, when the National Woman's Party acquired the Sewall-Belmont House.

In addition to the historic value of the women's movement and the house which is filled with the memorabilia of suffrage and busts of Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony and even a statue of Joan of Ark, the house itself is historic in its own right because from this house, the only shot was fired on the British when they came in to set fire to the Capitol. They shot the horse out from underneath the British general. He in turn set fire to the front part of the house.

In addition to that, the first Secretary of Treasury, Albert Gallatin, lived there, and it is presumed that he finalized the Louisiana Purchase in our drawing room.

We are filled with objects of art from Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, and it is truly a monument not only to the women's rights movement but to the history of this capital of the United States.

It is a credit for us to be there to be open to the public free of charge, which we are. If we do not get these maintenance funds, we would of necessity have to close for tours. This would be a blow not only to the public as education to women, but also I believe that the women of the United States might feel that we have gone one step backward and that, really, our Congress does not care about women's rights. I do not believe that is true.

So I am going to ask support of the bill that you have presented, Senator.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Chittick follows:]

TESTIMONY ON BILL S. 1682 - SEWALL BELMONT HOUSE
BY
ELIZABETH L. CHITTICK, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
BEFORE THE
SUB-COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS & FORESTS
OF THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
APRIL 14, 1988

Mr. Chairman, and other Members of this Committee, it is my great pleasure and honor to testify before you on S. 1682.

This bill will increase the monies allocated for the Sewall-Belmont House from $500,000 to $1,500,000. In the latter part of September 1986, the National Park Service informed us that approximately $750,000 had been spent - $500,000 for restoration and $250,000 for maintenance. The National Park Service then informed us that there were no more National Park Service funds for maintenance. I was also informed that if the limit was raised to one million dollars we might only receive $250,000 for maintenance as the National Park Service would take the $250,000 overspent out of the requested additional $500,000, thus leaving us with only $250,000.

We have since received a $53,000 line item in the appropriations bill for maintenance of the Sewall-Belmont House for the years 1987 and 1988. It should be noted here that the maintenance funds received from the National Park Service only covers a portion of the total funds needed to maintain the Sewall-Belmont House. The balance of maintenance funds for the House is derived from donations and receptions.

The need for maintenance funds is urgent. We also ask that our maintenance funds not be limited to $53,000. This is the amount we were given when the bill was passed twelve years ago. I don't need to stress the point that inflation, salaries and costs have gone up during these years, and we believe it would be restrictive and unrealistic to limit the funds to the same amount that was given twelve years ago.

For your informtion, the Sewall-Belmont House is open for tours, free of charge, will docents on duty. For the past two years, we have had over 10,000 men and women annually visit the house for a tour, from all over the United States and abroad, including New Zealand, Australia, China and Africa. Without maintenance funds, the Sewall-Belmont House will, of necessity, be closed to the public for tours. This would be a tragedy to the cause of women's rights and all that women have struggled so long to achieve.

I believe that if the Sewall-Belmont House, which is now a part of the National Park Service, had to close because of a lack of funds for maintenance, the leading women's and men's organizations involved in women's rights would consider this another step backwards in their struggle for the rights of women.

Testimony - Elizabeth L. Chittick

The passage of S. 1682 is vital to the continuing preservation and maintenance and interpretation of the Sewall-Belmont House. Therefore, we ask approval of the passage of bill S. 1682, which amends Section 204 of Public Law 93-486 (88 Stat. 1463) relating to the Sewall-Belmont National Historic Site by striking "$500,000" and inserting "$1,500,000."

Changing the dollar amount of this will not increase the debt ceiling as the National Park Service has received this $53,000 every year in their appropriation request during all of these years they claim they overspent the approved limit of funds.

The Sewall-Belmont House is historically and uniquely significant as it is the only House left standing containing the memorabilia of suffrage and which represents the modern women's movement and its contributions to American history.

The Sewall-Belmont House is beautiful and majestic. It has witnessed many historical events, and has housed many noted figures of law and state. It seems quite fitting that the Sewall-Belmont House should stand gazing serenely out over the magnificent Supreme Court Building, as though demanding justice and equal rights for every free American citizen. The house is in the right place at the right time. It stands as a symbol and commemoration of the women's rights movement. It stands as a symbol of the history and dedication of women to a cause and the awakening of social and moral conscience for the rights of all - men and women. It is a place where women may find their identity with the history of the past in their march for equal rights. It is a place everyone may visit, enjoy and point to with pride.

In order to give the true picture of what the Sewall-Belmont House stands for, I need to give you the background history of Alice Paul, the founder of the National Woman's Party; the woman who fought to eliminate discrimination against all women.

Alice Paul is the single person who established the National Woman's Party in 1913. She was born January 11, 1885 of a Quaker family, and over the years acquired six degrees: B.A. Swarthmore, 1905; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1907; Ph.D. Pennsylvania, 1912; LL.B. American University; LL.M. American University, 1921; D.C.L. American University, 1928.

She was an active social worker in New York City and England. After her return from England, where she had been imprisoned twice for her activities in the cause of Suffrage in England, under the leadership of Mrs. Pankhurst, she went to Washington and spearheaded the Suffrage movement.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association was at an all-time low. Alice Paul asked for authority to set-up headquarters in Washington and did so in a basement room on F Street. She immediately felt the need for something stronger than a committee and formed the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, the sole purpose of which was to work toward the Suffrage Amendment. A rift grew between the National American Suffrage Association and the new organization, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. The older organization wanted to further suffrage action only through state laws and Alice Paul's organization, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, wanted to hold "the party in power" responsible for the passage of the Suffrage Amendment.

On September 20, 1918, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage changed its name to the National Woman's Party. After the Suffrage Act the National American Woman Suffrage Association changed its name to the League of Woman Voters.

The founder of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, Alice Paul, was a tiny woman and was sometimes likened to "Jeanne d'Arc". She was a leader who demanded dedication and loyalty and received it. She had an activist approach and dared to do the dramatic, always in a beautiful and peaceful way.

It was Alice Paul who organized the parade of 1913, when 5,000 women marched down Pennsylvania Avenue the night before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, and subsequent spectacular ones, always with many horses and all participants colorfully dressed as in a stage production. It was Alice Paul who led the women marching up and down in front of the White House, burning any speech of President Wilson's which mentioned "democracy" or "liberty". The women constantly changed guards to keep the fires burning, while demanding their enfranchisement. It was Alice Paul and her followers who went to jail in 1917 and led hunger strikes. The forced feeding of the women and the severe treatment they received while imprisoned drew angry public response and national recognition of the suffrage issue. Many of these women were socially prominent but followed Alice Paul to jail because she had the courage and charisma to inspire women to follow her leadership. She was truly a young inspirational leader.

It was Alice Paul who was the general behind the organized demonstration which finally culminated in Congress passing the Suffrage Act on June 4, 1919. Now the battle for Suffrage was in the States and the National Woman's Party under the leadership of Alice Paul, launched local ratification campaigns, using automobiles and trains to cross the country, stopping at towns enroute to speak on Suffrage. The Suffrage Act became the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 26, 1920.

The National Woman's Party did not believe the battle for equality should stop here. In 1923 they met in Seneca Falls and passed a resolution to ask for an Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution in order to obtain the balance of the rights demanded at the first Equal Rights Convention seventy-five years ago, the Seneca Falls Convention of July 19-20, 1948 . These rights were equal rights in the franchise, in education, in industry, in the professions, in political office, in marriage, in personal freedom, in control of property, in guardianship of children, in making contracts, in the church, and in the leadership of all moral and public movement. The only right they had received was the right to the franchise. Under the leadership of Alice Paul, the National Woman's Party had introduced in Congress in 1923 the first Equal Rights Amendment Bill ever proposed for women. It was called the Lucretia Mott Amendment and read:

> "Men and Women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and in every place subject to its jurisdiction".

It was characteristic of the strategy of Miss Paul to obtain the support of a nephew of Susan B. Anthony, Congressman Dan Anthony, Republican of Kansas, who introduced the first Equal Rights Amendment in the House in 1923. Senator Charles Curtis, Republican of Kansas, later Vice President of the United States, introduced it in the Senate. The outlook was dim - one sponsor in the House, one sponsor in the Senate, and only one woman's organization behind it - the National Woman's Party.

Testimony - Elizabeth L. Chittick

For forty-nine years the National Woman's Party had the Equal Rights Amendment introduced in every succeeding Congress, obtaining more and more sponsors each year. In the beginning some women's organizations opposed the Equal Rights Amendment on the grounds it would render invalid protective state laws, especially those regarding labor, for which so many had worked so long. The National Woman's Party had the vision to see that such legislation only served to further discrimination.

It was in 1948 that the wording of the Equal Rights Amendment was changed to the present words:

> "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex".

Over the years the National Woman's Party kept the fires burning for the Equal Rights Amendment, educating other organizations, publishing bulletins and maintaining an instant information bureau on the exact status of its progress and sponsors day or night.

There is so much more to be told of the glorious and romantic history of the birth and life of the National Woman's Party, the equal rights party, such as their part in the establishment of the Inter-American Commission of Women, the establishment of the World Woman's Party with headquarters in Geneva, and their part in obtaining an Equal Rights statement for men and women in the historic Preamble of the UN Charter at the San Francisco conference. But this is for a book to be printed sometime in the future.

Over the years, the National Woman's Party, under the dynamic leadership of Alice Paul, devoted most of its energies to the Equal Rights Amendment. It is truly the Suffrage and Equal Rights Party and as such an extension of the woman's movement started in 1848. The women of today can identify with and take pride in the efforts of their predecessors who so steadfastly stayed on the path of one goal, women's rights.

On November 9, 1921, the National Woman's Party bought its first permanent headquarters, the Old Brick Capitol, from Charlotte Anita Whitney, and obtained a mortgage to pay for the property. Mrs. Alva Belmont, a prominent society woman, who had become a strong advocate of equal rights paid off the mortgage on September 30, 1922, and deeded the property to the National Woman's Party. The headquarters, of the National Woman's Party, the Old Brick Capitol, was taken by the power of eminent domain to make way for the Supreme Court Building. The compensation paid was used to purchase the Sewall-Belmont House from Senator and Mrs. Porter H. Dale on April 18, 1929.

After moving to the Sewall-Belmont House, the National Woman's Party was again threatened by eminent domain in 1957 and1958, due to Senate expansion and the need for more parking space.

Testimony - Elizabeth L. Chittick

On October 8, 1969, the Senate passed an Air and Water Pollution Bill which had already been passed by the House, and added a rider authorizing $1,250,000 to acquire property for a third Senate office building. Without hearings, the rider took by eminent domain, two small former slave houses adjoining the main house, for a parking lot.

In order to fully understand the historical importance of the Sewall-Belmont House I need to give you more details. The Sewall-Belmont House, so named by the National Register of Historic Places on December 5, 1972, is a stately residence located two blocks from our nation's capitol and one block from the Supreme Court. It is today the only house left reminiscent of the woman's movement since suffrage and is filled with memorabilia, history, articles and gifts from the women who took part in the movement from the suffrage days to this day.

A large part of the historical significance of the Sewall-Belmont House actually predates ownership by the National Woman's Party. In 1632, King Charles of England granted a vast tract of land to Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore. Included in this holding was Jenkins Hill, later to be known as Capitol Hill.

The land was at various times known as "Duddington Manor", "New Troy and Duddington Pastures", "Cerne Abbey Manor", after an ancient Benedictine Foundation in Dorsetshire, England, and the "Daniel Carroll Farm".

When it was decided to have the seat of Federal Government on Jenkins Hill, this part of the City was laid out in lots. Daniel Carroll gave lots 1, 2 and 32 to the United States, then received back lot 32. In 1793, Daniel Carroll bought lot 1 from the Government and in 1799 he sold the two lots to Robert Sewall. These included the land upon which the house stands.

An 1801-1802 map of Washington shows buildings standing on the lot. Records show that the house thereon was rented in 1801 to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Jefferson and Madison. It is reported that in the drawing room, which he used as his office, the "Treaty of Ghent" making way for the Louisiana Purchase was finalized.

An important event in the history of the house took place soon after Secretary Gallatin moved out in 1813. When the British Army marched on Washington, after they won the Battle of Bladensburg in 1814, some of Commodore Joshua Barney's men of the United States forces stationed themselves in Robert Sewall's house and fired on the British Army as they came along what is now Maryland Avenue, toward the Capitol Building. This is believed to have been the only resistence to the British in their march to burn down the Capitol. At least one of the marching British soldiers was killed, others wounded, and the horse on which General Ross was riding was shot. The General ordered the torch applied to the offending house - the Sewall-Belmont House.

Testimony - Elizabeth L. Chittick

Just how much damage the fire caused is not recorded. That Robert Sewall rebuilt the damaged house before his death in 1822 is a matter of record. For 123 years, the house belonged to Robert Sewall and his heirs. Among them were Susan and Ellen Daingerfield. The former married John Shode Barbour, Senator from Virginia. While Senator Barbour and his wife lived in the House, it was a most hospitable mansion and the center of Washington social life.

Miss Ellen Daingerfield eventually lived alone in the house. Neighbors claimed that they set their watches each day at four o'clock when she went out for her daily drive. After Miss Daingerfield's death, this beautiful building was sadly neglected until it was purchased in 1921 by Senator Porter H. Dale of Vermont, who restored it and added such notable items as the Daniel Webster doors with silver hinges in the drawing room and the living room.

There is almost as much history inside the House as there is to the land on which it stands. There are three magnificant sculptured busts done by the well-known sculptress, Adelaide Johnson. They include the busts of Lucretia Mott, the mother of the Emancipation for Women Movement; Susan B. Anthony, the great suffrage leader; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a famous leader in the early days of the movement. These busts are copies of the busts of the large statues standing in the crypt of the capitol, which were commissioned by the National Woman's Party and presented to the House of Representatives on February 15, 1921. In addition, the busts of Mrs. Alva Belmont and suffragist Alice Paul grace the halls of the Sewall-Belmont House.

In the Sewall-Belmont House, at the end of the great hall, stands a beautiful and valuable marble and ivory statue of Jeanne d'Arc, sculptured by Madame Prosper d'Epinsy, a replica of the one at the Cathedral at Rheims, France.

The house abounds with numerous portraits of pioneers of the Suffrave Movement and of leaders of the National Woman's Party and others active in national civil affairs.

The beautiful mirrors hanging in the living room and hall are from the old French Embassy. The fine set of rosewood furniture in the drawing room was given by William Randolph Hearst in honor of his mother, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, who was a member of the National Woman's Party Advisory Council until her death.

Other items include a silver plated tea service in memory of Clara Barton, Susan B. Anthony's desk, Henry Clay's desk, the early American spool chair of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Secretary Bayard's table desks, Governor Ogle's desk, Supreme Court Justice Field's bookcases and other furniture from the "Old Brick Capitol".

The kitchen is the oldest part of the House and was the family room of the first structure on this site. A large colonial fireplace dominates the room. In this family room is a small circular staircase going to a room above the kitchen, where it is believed that the Roman Catholics met in secret from 1774 to 1776 during the time public services were banned in the State of Maryland.

Beyond the kitchen is our library, known as the Florence Bayard Hilles Library. Mrs. Elise duPont of Wilmington, Delaware was the architect who converted the former coach house and stable to its present form. This library holds extensive material on the early suffrage movement as well as the Equal Rights Movement. The two beautiful library tables and many of the chairs were given by various Congressmen. Of special note is the chair, marked by a brass plate, used by Mrs. McKinley, the wife of President McKinley. Standing near the fire place is the statue of the Victory of Samothrace presented to Admiral Richard Wainwright by the Midshipmen of Annapolis and given to the National Woman's Party after the death of Admiral Wainwright.

The bedrooms contain pieces of antique furniture, including four poster beds, desks and armoires.

This house and the land upon which it stands has witnessed many historic moments and events, not the least of which will be the coming ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. In addition we know we are a jewel and asset that the National Park Service can be proud of.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you hold in your hands the power to give a continuing gift of education of the history of the women's movement to the public.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you very much for that testimony, Elizabeth. It is a remarkable monument not only to the history of the women's movement but the history of Washington, DC.

It stands, as all of you know, right next to the Hart Senate Office Building. It was spared when the Hart Senate Office Building was constructed and so is in a perfect location for people who are visiting the Senate office buildings and the capital of the United States to visit and see a chunk of American history.

I think a spectacular job was done in the refurbishing of the house. The maintenance has been done with love and care by those who have been entrusted to its condition. So I want to publicly commend Elizabeth Chittick for the work that she and her organization has done and also to thank you for this testimony here today.

I am confident that with the support of the public and the National Park Service it will be successful in moving this legislation along.

You are right. I think you have identified an important issue that needs to be sorted out. I am glad that you focused on it for the benefit of the committee.

Next we will hear from our second panel, which consists of Malcolm Lazin, William Gowen, and Tom McCallum.

We will also get the third panel and ask them to come to the table as well: Dr. John Challinor and A.E. Wolf. If you would come up, we will save a bit of time.

Malcolm, if I have mispronounced your name——

Mr. LAZIN. Senator, you pronounced it absolutely accurately.

Senator CONRAD. I appreciate that. You can proceed.

Again, I want to tell all of the witnesses that if you would summarize your statements, your full statements will be made a part of the record as if presented.

STATEMENT OF MALCOLM L. LAZIN, RUBIN, QUINN & MOSES

Mr. LAZIN. Thank you very much, Senator. Actually, two of the points that were made in regard to the two prior pieces of legislation regarding Fort Abraham Lincoln and the Belmont House I think are in a certain sense applicable to Washington Square.

Clearly, designation as part of the National Park Service attracts national attention and attracts tourists to the site. Like the Belmont House, proximity is a very critical factor. Let me tell you about what I believe is arguably the most important square block of land in American military history. It is called Washington Square.

In 1777, Gen. George Washington was, of course, putting together his army. In order to do that he called upon men from all 13 colonies. At that point in time, obviously, it was extraordinarily difficult to get to Philadelphia by horseback.

When these gentlemen arrived to be part of this army, they knew in advance that Washington's army was underfinanced, underequipped, undermanned, up against probably the mightiest military power in the world at that time, and certainly by virtue of the fact that they joined this rag tag army, that they would be immediately branded a traitor against the crown.

Nonetheless, out of the deepest sense of commitment to American self-determination, they chose to join Washington's army. They stood up against the army of the king, many of them ending up in a hospital and a prison which was equidistant to what was then called Potter's Field.

Over 2,000 died during that period of time and were buried in a mass grave without even a marker, these greatest of American patriots. It was not until 1957 that the Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier with its eternal flame even marked the fact that this site was the largest burial site of Gen. George Washington's army.

This site, as Senator Heinz and Senator Specter have told you, is literally across the street from Independence National Historical Park.

We call upon you to have Washington Square included in Independence National Historical Site for any number of reasons. First, the square, which, by the way, historically speaking, was one of the five original squares laid out by William Penn, is unfortunately not maintained in the condition that you nor I nor any other American citizen would want.

Two, and more importantly, what is Independence National Historical Park? It is primarily a park, by the way, that is visited by 5 million Americans annually, the principal teaching institution for the story of the founding of this Nation.

At present, if you came to Independence National Historical Park there would literally be no interpretive guides to take you across the street to tell you of the sacrifice of these men; therefore, we believe that it is critically important that this square be included on the 40th anniversary of the founding of Independence National Historical Park by this very Congress in that historical park.

What is the support for this bill? Two Republican U.S. Senators, the Democratic congressman from this district, the Governor of Pennsylvania who has sent a representative here, the mayor of the city of Philadelphia, 39 community organizations which include the Philadelphia Historic Commission, the largest historic society in Pennsylvania, the Veterans, the civic associations, the Friends of Independence National Historical Park, which is a citizens group that supports it.

In Philadelphia, Senator, there is not one person who is against this initiative.

Senator CONRAD. May I just interrupt and ask if this legislation were successful, would I be made an honorary citizen of the city of Philadelphia? [Laughter.]

Mr. LAZIN. Senator, you would probably be declared a public savior indeed.

I might add to you that I handed to your legislative aide a copy of an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer, which is the largest newspaper in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, calling upon this Congress to pass this legislation. There is strong public sentiment for it.

What is the cost? The city of Philadelphia would turn over this land for $1, as it turned over Independence Hall for $1 in order to create Independence National Historical Park.

In terms of historical significance we were very fortunate on the morning of September 17, 1987, at the very start of the public events for the celebration of the Constitution, to have the Secretary of the Department of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier.

Let me just tell you two things that he said which I believe were very significant. I might add, before he arrived there historians from the Department of Defense visited the site and went through a great deal of research before he laid a wreath there.

What he said was this site is as important to this Nation as the National Cemetery at Arlington and the Battlefield of Gettysburg. Indeed, that is true. But for the sacrifice of those men, the Declaration of Independence would be but a passing footnote in history, and the Constitutional Convention of 1787 that we just celebrated would never have occurred.

Therefore, we call upon this Congress to enact this bill to really not honor these men because, Senator, you are not capable of honoring them. The President of the United States is not capable of honoring them. The citizens of this country are incapable of honoring men who made that type of commitment at that point in time.

What we are asking you to do is to rid this country of a tragedy. That tragedy which has now existed for 210 years is that this National Government has not seen fit to designate this as part of our National Park Service. Let those 5 million who visit annually and their children and their children's children know from whence American commitment to self-determination arose.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Lazin follows:]

TESTIMONY OF MALCOLM L. LAZIN
TO
SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS & FORESTS
SENATE BILL 1513

Washington Square is arguably the most important square block of land in American Military History and one of the most important sites for this nation. In 1777 and 1778, recruits from the thirteen colonies came to Philadelphia by carriage and horseback to serve in General George Washington's Army. They came to serve in an underequipped and undermanned force, without benefits and little hope of compensation serve under difficult and arduous circumstances against the mightest army in the world. To fight against King George was to insure that one would be labeled a traitor to the crown.

Many of these men ended up in prison or in a hospital in Philadelphia which was equidistant from Potter's Field, now known as Washington Square. Over 2,000 soldiers from Washington's Army were buried there. It is the largest burial site for Washington's Army which, at its largest staffing, had no more than 25,000 volunteers. These men were buried in a large collective grave, without a marker. Indeed, it was not until 1957, 180 years later, that the Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier with its eternal flame, was erected on the site.

These men were among the most noble and bravest of our patriots. But for their willingness to fight for an ideal, the Declaration of Independence would have been but a passing footnote in history and certainly there would never have been a Constitutional Convention in 1787, which provided the basis for the governance of this great land.

How pathetic that these greatest of patriots were buried without even a headstone to mark their contribution. The fact that Washington Square is not a part of our National Park Service is a disgrace to their memory and embarrassment to all who pride themselves on being an American.

Washington Square, which is one of the original five squares set out by William Penn, is but catty-corner from Independence National Historical Park. The land is owned by the City of Philadelphia, which is willing to enter into a long term lease with the National Park Service, identical to the lease which it entered into by which the National Park Service acquired Independence Hall and created Independence National Historical Park. The site can be leased for but one dollar per year. Why is it important that we do so? The principal teaching institution for the founding of this country is Independence National Historical Park. Its message is incomplete because it does not tell of the spilling of blood that allowed this nation to come into being. Presently, there are no interpertive guides to take tourists literally across the street to visit this important shrine. Washington Square likewise is not being maintained to the high standards of the National Park Service. Indeed, no new administration would have to be put in place because the Superintendent's Office for Independence National Historical Park is but a mere three blocks from Washington Square.

On the morning of September 17, 1987 at the first official function on that day in Philadelphia for the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Consititution, Caspar Weinberger, then Secretary of Defense, laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier. In his remarks, a copy of which are attached, he stated that Washington Square is as hallowed a site to this nation as the National Cemetary at Arlington and the Battlefield at Gettysburg.

As Chair of the Washington Square Committee, I represent over twenty-nine community organizations made up of veteran's groups, historic societies, business interests, government and civic associations, in calling for the Federal Government to include Washington Square into Independence National Historical Park under exactly the same arrangement as the acquisition of Independence Hall. We know of no one who is opposed to this Bill.

With all due respect to you and your excellent staff, neither this Senate Subcommittee nor the President of these United States, nor any private citizen is capable of honoring the brave men who rest in Washington Square. Their contribution to this country is so enormous that we are totally incapable of honoring them. But for their contribution, under circumstances requiring the greatest of patriotism, this great nation would not have existed and mankind would never have been enriched by this nation's multi-facited contribution. This Subcommittee can, however, right a horrific wrong. That wrong being that for over 210 years, the Federal Government can rectify this omission and insure that we and our children and our children's children,

should be taught about and brought to the site where American commitment began. With the support of this Subcommittee and your commitment to the passage of this Bill, which will be fully supported by the House of Representatives, you can make an important contribution to the rememberance of our founding.

SALMON
16SEP87
3:30PM

REMARKS BY SECRETARY WEINBERGER
AT THE
TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER
WASHINGTON SQUARE PARK, PHILADELPHIA

17 SEPTEMBER 1987

GOOD MORNING. IT IS AN HONOR TO BE HERE.

ON A SIMILAR MORNING IN 1777, JOHN ADAMS WALKED ON THESE GROUNDS AND, GRIPPED WITH EMOTION, WROTE THESE WORDS TO HIS WIFE ABIGAIL:

"I HAVE SPENT AN HOUR THIS MORNING, IN THE CONGREGATION OF THE DEAD. I TOOK A WALK INTO THE POTTERS FIELD, AND BURYING GROUND BETWEEN THE NEW STONE PRISON, AND THE HOSPITAL, AND I NEVER IN MY WHOLE LIFE WAS AFFECTED WITH SO MUCH MELANCHOLY. THE GRAVES OF THE SOLDIERS, WHO HAVE BEEN BURIED IN THIS GROUND FROM THE HOSPITAL AND BETTERING HOUSE . . . ARE ENOUGH TO MAKE THE HEART OF STONE TO MELT AWAY. THE SEXTON TOLD ME THAT UPWARDS OF TWO THOUSAND SOLDIERS HAD BEEN BURIED THERE, AND BY THE APPEARANCE OF THE GRAVES AND TRENCHES, IT IS MOST PROBABLE TO ME THAT HE SPEAKS WITHIN BOUNDS."

THE SOLITUDE OF THIS SEPTEMBER MORNING COMPELS US TO REFLECT, AS JOHN ADAMS SURELY DID, ON THE SACRIFICE OF THE SOLDIERS BURIED HERE IN THE SHADOW OF THEIR LEADER GEORGE WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS' TESTIMONY IS MOVING, BUT IT NEEDS ONE ADDITION. REMEMBERING THEIR SACRIFICE, AND TAKING STRENGTH FROM THEIR COURAGE, WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THESE ARE UNKNOWN SOLDIERS. THEY DIED IN OBSCURITY. - BUT FOR THIS SIMPLE MONUMENT THEY WOULD BE FORGOTTEN. THIS GRAVE IS AS HALLOWED AS THOSE TOMBS IN ARLINGTON CEMETERY THAT ENSHRINE AMERICA'S UNKNOWN SOLDIERS.

WE STAND TODAY AT A COMMON GRAVE FOR UNCOMMON MEN.

IT IS FITTING THAT WE BEGIN THIS DAY, THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION, QUIETLY HONORING THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN A REVOLUTION THAT CULMINATED IN THAT GREAT DOCUMENT OF LIBERTY. THE WORDS OF OUR CONSTITUTION WERE IN NO WAY SIMPLY DRAFTED. THEY WERE PURCHASED AT THE PRICE OF MORE TEARS AND SORROW THAN MEMORY CAN MEASURE.

THOUGH WE DO NOT KNOW THE NAMES OF ALL THOSE WHO ARE BURIED HERE, WE SEE ALL AROUND US THE FRUITS OF THEIR BRIEF LIVES. THIS ASTONISHING CITY EMBRACES BOTH THE ENERGY OF A VIGOROUS AND FREE PEOPLE ALONG SIDE A REVERENCE FOR THE MONUMENTS OF LIBERTY.

ENSCRIBED ON THE TABLETS BEHIND ME IS THE SIMPLE TRUTH, "FREEDOM IS A LIGHT FOR WHICH MANY MEN HAVE DIED IN DARKNESS." AS THE LIGHT OF MORNING COMES UPON US, AND WE REMEMBER THOSE WHO SACRIFICED FOR OUR LIBERTY, LET US PRAY THAT OUR OWN EFFORTS IN THIS GREAT REPUBLIC ARE WORTHY OF "THE LAST FULL MEASURE OF THEIR DEVOTION."

THANK YOU.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you. That is excellent testimony, and we appreciate that.

Next we will hear from William Gowen, the executive director of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM E.W. GOWEN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

Mr. GOWEN. Senator, I am a member of the society and I represent the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution. The society passed a unanimous resolution at its last full meeting endorsing this bill, and I am appearing in support of this effort.

We also worked with Congressman Foglietta, who introduced, as you know, the bill in the House.

My full statement and the full resolution is entered in the record, and I just want to make some brief remarks if I may.

John Adams, who was to become the second President of the United States, reported in April of 1777 that he watched the burial in Washington Square of some 2,000 American soldiers. These men had been killed fighting in the Delaware Valley, including at Princeton and Trenton, two great American victories.

Among these American dead in Washington Square whose exact number we do not know and will never know are those who died later as prisoners from wounds in Independence Hall which had been turned into a prison after the King's troops captured Philadelphia on September 26, 1777.

Included are some of the 400 Americans captured by the British at the Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777. These men had been marched as prisoners down the Germantown Road, as Germantown Avenue was then called, past the Deshler-Morris House where Gen. Sir William Howe had his headquarters, and into Philadelphia to the State House, as Independence Hall was then called.

The Battle of Germantown, as many non-Philadelphians do not know, was probably one of the decisive battles of the Revolutionary War. Why? Because the British Army had just defeated Washington's Continentals twice on the way to Philadelphia, once on the Brandywine and later at Paoli where General Wayne's command had been caught in bivouac and malled.

Consequently, when Lord Cornwallis, who of course was going to surrender in Yorktown, marched triumphantly from Germantown on September 26 into the city to be greeted by loyalists, the British commanders believed the American cause had been defeated, the Continental Congress dispersed and Washington discredited.

The recapture of Philadelphia and of Independence Hall by the Americans less than 1 year later encouraged Americans everywhere to fight on because, at last, victory for American independence seemed possible. This victory became a reality largely because of the men who fought at Germantown on October 4, 1777, when the odds were strongly against them and when we stood alone and when General Howe had just concluded the war was about over.

It is appropriate, therefore, that those who fought and died and are buried in unmarked mass graves in Washington Square should be honored and celebrated by the United States.

Senator Conrad, thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gowen follows:]

 April 14, 1988

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE BILL TO INCORPORATE

WASHINGTON SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA

INTO INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

By: William E. W. Gowen

Representing the Pennsylvania Society of Sons
of the Revolution and the General Society

Of Sons of the Revolution

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Before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands,
National Parks and Forests

Senator Dale Bumpers, Chairman

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Let me begin by Reading the Resolution of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution:

(Read text, as attached)

Let me now add to this record by commenting on the Unknown Soldiers of the American Revolution who died for America and are buried together in the mass graves in Washington Square:

(more)

John Adams, who was to become the second President of the United States, reported in April of 1777 that he watched the burial in Washington Square of some 2,000 American soldiers. These men had been killed fighting in the Delaware Valley, including at Princeton and Trenton.

But among these American dead in Washington Square -- whose exact number we do not know -- are those who died later as prisoners, from wounds, in Independence Hall, which had been turned into a prison after the King's troops captured Philadelphia on September 26, 1777.

Included are some of the 400 Americans captured by the British at the Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777. These men had been marched as prisoners down the Germantown Road, as Germantown Avenue was then called, past the Deshler-Morris House, where General Sir William Howe had his headquarters and into Philadelphia to the State House, as Independence Hall was then called.

The Battle of Germantown, as many non-Philadelphians do not know, was probably one of the decisive battles of the Revolutionary War. Why? Because the British Army had just defeated Washington's Continentals twice on the way to Philadelphia, once on the Brandywine and later at Paoli, where General Wayne's command had been caught in bivouac and mauled. Consequently, when Lord Cornwallis marched triumphantly from Germantown on September 26th into the City, to be greeted by Loyalists, the British commanders believed the American cause had been defeated, the Continental Congress dispersed and Washington discredited.

Cornwallis could hardly have suspected that he would be surrendering to Washington on October 19, 1781 at Yorktown. But Washington and Wayne did not feel beaten. Washington learned that the British planned to attack the two American forts, Mifflin and Mercer, on the Delaware south of Philadelphia, to open the port to the British. We do not know whether his timing was perfect or merely coincidental, but on October 4, when the British were to launch their first attacks on the two forts, Washington's men struck from the northwest at dawn towards Germantown -- catching the overconfident British unprepared.

The Americans advanced from Chestnut Hill down the Germantown Road, and with other columns to the left and right, struck the first British defensive position at Mount Airy -- the home of the Loyalist Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, William Allen. The British force, equipped with two cannon was overrun and the Americans moved forward rapidly. Washington, who was with the column on the Germantown Road, thought that early morning, as did the British commanders, that he would be back in Philadelphia by the end of the day.

But the Germantown Road, a winding former Indian trail, was dotted on either side by homes, each with its plot of land and delineating fences. The British, retreating, used these features much as the Normandy hedgerows were used defensively by the Germans after D-Day in Normandy. These tactics delayed, but did not stop the American advance.

However, one group of British regulars was assembled by Lt. Col. Thomas Musgrave in the Chew House, two-and-a half stories high, still at 6401 Germantown Avenue. The doors and first floor windows were barricaded, and marksmen placed at the attic and second-story windows. The House, massively built of solid stone, was more strongly constructed than any other in Germantown, though the American attackers did not know this. Its thick walls resisted artillery fire and the defenders refused to surrender. Washington, who was nearby at the Billmeyer House, captured earlier without difficulty, decided to halt the advance until the Chew House was taken.

The resulting pause led to confusion among the American columns, some of which fired on each other, and permitted the British time to bring up new forces. Slowly they forced an American retreat, but the British halted in Chestnut Hill, relieved that Washington's men, who had come so close to winning, had been repulsed.

The war which Howe had thought was about over would continue. The American cause was still alive. To make this point with psychological force, Washington on October 7 sent a truce party to Howe with an unusual message. It read: (quote) --

> "General Washington's compliments to General Howe -- Does himself the pleasure to return to him a dog, which accidentally fell into his ~~hands~~, and, by the inscription on the collar appears to belong to General Howe." (Unquote)

In fact, on October 19 Howe withdrew all the British and Hessian troops from Germantown, concentrating them in Philadelphia, which was still blockaded by Forts Mifflin and Mercer.

Heavy naval and military engagements followed on the Delaware and around the forts. Mifflin was captured November 17 while Mercer fell at last on November 21. The first British ship did not reach Philadelphia until November 23rd.

Encouraged, Howe again attacked Germantown on December 4, reaching Bethlehem Pike in Chestnut Hill before again deciding to withdraw. By December 19 Washington had moved to Valley Forge. There, as many do not realize, his forces cut off Philadelphia from essential hinterland supplies, thus making Howe's position in the City uncomfortable and difficult.

The Battle of Germantown -- which should be appropriately celebrated in this 300th anniversary of the founding of Germantown by Francis Daniel Pastorius -- together with the surrender of Burgoyne's British Army at Saratoga on October 17, led France to enter the war as America's first ally.

The French declaration of war, on February 6, little more than a month after Washington moved to Valley Forge, completely altered the strategic position of the British forces in the Americas. Immediately, the British felt their rich West Indies trade and possessions in the Caribbean threatened by the French Navy and Army, and so decided not only <u>not</u> to reinforce Howe, but to split up the force bottled up in Philadelphia. Word of the British predicament reached Washington, and on June 18, 1778 the British evacuated Philadelphia.

The recapture of Philadelphia and of Independence Hall by the Americans encouraged Americans everywhere to fight on, because at last victory for American Independence seemed possible. This victory became a reality largely because of the men who fought at Germantown on October 4, 1777, when the odds were strongly against them and when General Howe had just concluded the war was about over. It is appropriate, therefore, that those who fought and died and are buried in unmarked mass graves in Washington Square should be honored and celebrated by the United States.

Senator Bumpers, thank you and the Subcommittee for holding this hearing. We urge you to encourage all members of the United States Senate to vote their approval of the Washington Square bill here under consideration.

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WASHINGTON SQUARE RESOLUTION PP 49-51

PROCEEDINGS • 1987

NINETY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING
9 April 1987
RESOLUTION TO INCORPORATE WASHINGTON SQUARE IN INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK PROPOSED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGERS

WHEREAS, the object of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution is "to perpetuate the memory of the men who, in the military, naval and civil service of the colonies and of the Continental Congress, by their acts or counsel, achieved the Independence of the country," and

WHEREAS, Independence National Historical Park was established by an Act of Congress, dated 28 June 1948 (62 Stat. 1061), "for the purpose of preserving for the benefit of the American people as a national historical park certain historical structures and properties of outstanding national significance located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States . . ."; and

WHEREAS, the National Park Service, in July 1970, adopted and published "A Master Plan Report" for Independence National Historical Park which names the American Revolution as one of three basic interpretive themes for the Park; and

WHEREAS, the public land known as Washington Square in Philadelphia (bounded generally by Walnut Street on the north, Sixth Street on the east, and the intersecting streets named 'Washington Square' on the west and south) lies immediately adjacent to Independence National Historical Park; and

WHEREAS, John Adams, who was to become the second President of the United States, reported in April of 1777 that more than 2,000 American patriots, soldiers in the Revolutionary cause, lay buried in Washington Square (Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., *Adams Family Correspondence* [Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1963], Vol. 2, p. 209); and

WHEREAS, as early as 1833, in honor of the centennial of the birth of George Washington, the City Councils of Philadelphia recognized the

national historical significance of Washington Square by authorizing placement of a statue of George Washington at the center of the Square; and

WHEREAS, in June 1957, the Washington Square Planning Committee, in cooperation with the Fairmount Park Commission of the City of Philadelphia, erected at the center of Washington Square both the long-awaited statue of George Washington and a memorial to the unknown soldiers of the American Revolutionary War buried in the Square; and

WHEREAS, in the House of Representatives of the United States of America, meeting in the First Session of the Ninety-Ninth Congress, Thomas M. Foglietta, Member of Congress representing the First District of Pennsylvania, successfully sponsored a Bill to provide for the inclusion of the Washington Square area within Independence National Historical Park (H.R. 105); and

WHEREAS, the object of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; the purpose for the establishment of Independence National Historical Park; the interpretive themes of the Park; the proximity of Washington Square to the Park; the national historical significance of Washington Square; the long-established designation of Washington Square as most appropriate site in Philadelphia for a monument to George Washington; and the subsequent erection of both the statue and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier of the Revolution – when taken together form a compelling case in favor of the adoption of the said Bill,

Now, therefore, be it RESOLVED, that the members of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, acting in concert at their Ninety-Ninth Annual Meeting, held in Philadelphia on Thursday, 9 April 1987, do hereby petition Thomas M. Foglietta, and all other representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States of America, to introduce in the First Session of the One Hundredth Congress, singly or jointly, a Bill to provide for the incorporation of Washington Square in Independence National Historical Park and also for an appropriation sufficient for the rehabilitation and continuing management, maintenance and public interpretation of the Square;

And, be it further RESOLVED, that the members of the Society do earnestly petition the Congress of the United States of America to consider and pass the said Bill and the President of the United States of America to sign the said Bill into Law;

And, be it further RESOLVED, that the President and Secretary of the Society shall communicate these resolutions to Representative Foglietta, all other representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

in the Congress of the United States of America and the President of the United States of America.

It was moved, seconded, and passed by those present that the proposed resolution (amended on page 2 to read "Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers") be adopted.

Senator CONRAD. We appreciate that testimony. It is helpful to create a record upon which to base our decision. We appreciate your taking the time to be here.

Next we will hear from Mr. Thomas McCallum, former chairman of the Friends of Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, PA.

Mr. McCallum.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS F. McCALLUM, FORMER CHAIRMAN, FRIENDS OF INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Mr. MCCALLUM. Senator Conrad, there are 1,500 members in the Friends of Independence Park. I will just give you a little bit of where I come from.

It was the very first organization of its type in the country to have a volunteer effort to support a national park. It is very easy to do in Philadelphia. We take great pride in Independence, and I hope that you have been there or, if you have not, that you will come soon.

Senator CONRAD. I had the good fortune of having a brother who attended the University of Pennsylvania and went to the Wharton School. I spent some time there, and so I know of some of the sites of which you are speaking.

Mr. MCCALLUM. Well, it seems to us that the principal historical resource in Washington Square is directly related to the adjacent Independence Square and the remainder of Independence National Historical Park.

Forty years ago in 1948, Public Law 795 was passed by the 80th Congress. It provided for the establishment of Independence National Historical Park. That law stated that certain properties of outstanding historical significance "associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States" should be preserved for the benefit of the people.

An important part of that story was the creation of the U.S. Army in Independence Hall by the Second Continental Congress on June 14, 1775. Soldiers of that army were imprisoned in Independence Hall during the winter of 1777 and 1778 during the British occupation, and the people who died there are now buried in Washington Square.

Finally, the story of the creation of the United States Army as told in the Army-Navy Museum in Pemberton House, which is another building of Independence National Historical Park. It is obvious that the story told in the park and the resource embodied in the revolutionary burials at Washington Square are both a very important part of the founding of this country.

The close working relationship envisioned by this legislation is not unprecedented. It has already been established. The management of Independence National Historical Park already exists with the Fairmount Park Commission. It has a history of effectiveness that already exists between the National Park Service and various areas in Philadelphia.

This has proved very successful between the National Park Service and the city of Philadelphia. It is Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell, for example. The Carpenters Co., Carpenters Hall, is

in the middle of Independence Park and does not belong to Independence Park but is overseen by it. The American Philosophical Society is the same way; Christ Church, St. George's Methodist Church, which is the oldest Methodist church in the United States; St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, where the first mass was said in the English-speaking world; Gloria Dei Old Swedes Church; Mikveh Israel Cemetery.

Those are just a number of them that are already in existence where anytime that they do anything to those properties the National Park Service comes in and gives them the technical guidance and advice that should be done. They do nothing without consulting the National Park Service.

We believe that the same kind of agreement will benefit both Independence National Historical Park and, certainly, Washington Square. It would be very proper and fitting to give Washington Square the dignity it deserves under the technical guidance of the National Park Service and most especially Independence National Historical Park, which is one of the great new urban models in the country. If you have ever been to it, you have seen an historical park that is in the center of the city. It is just one of the jewels of the National Park System.

Independence will celebrate its 40th birthday this year, and we think it would be very gracious of you to give it a new present for its birthday; that would be in the form of Washington Square.

I thank you very, very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. McCallum follows:]

TEL No. Apr 12.88 13:38 P.03

STATEMENT BY

THOMAS F. MCCALLUM, FORMER CHAIRMAN

FRIENDS OF INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

BEFORE THE

SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND LANDS

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS & FORESTS

APRIL 14, 1988

Re: S. Bill No. 1513 - To provide for the inclusion of the Washington Square area within Independence National Historical Park

As former chairman of The Friends of Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, I'm grateful to have this opportunity to speak today on behalf of the board of the Friends and its membership relative to the status of Washington Square.

It seems to us that the principle historical resource on Washington Square is directly related to the adjacent Independence Square and the remainder of Independence National Historical Park. Forty years ago in 1948 Public Law 795 in the 80th Congress provided for the establishment of Independence National Historical Park. That law stated that certain properties of outstanding historical significance, "associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States", should be preserved for the benefit of the people. An important part of that story was the creation of the United States Army in Independence Hall by the Second Continental Congress on June 14, 1775. Soldiers of that Army were imprisoned in Independence Hall during the winter of 1777-1778 when Philadelphia was occupied by the British. And according to eyewitness John Adams, over 2,000 American soldiers who were killed or died during the American Revolution were buried in Washington Square. Of course, these revolutionary war veterans are remembered by the Tomb of the

Unknown Soldier of the Revolution in Washington Square. Finally, the story of the creation of the United States Army is told in the Army Navy Museum in Pemberton House, another building of Independence National Historical Park. It is obvious that the story told in the Park and the resource embodied in the Revolutionary burials at Washington Square are both an important part of the founding of our nation.

The close working relationship envisioned by this legislation, between the management of Independence National Historical Park and the Fairmount Park Commission, has a history of effectiveness. The same pattern has proved to be successful in the same kind of legislation and agreement between the National Park Service and City of Philadelphia, the Carpenters Company, the American Philosophical Society, Christ Church, St. George's Methodist Church, St. Joseph Roman Catholic Church, Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church, Mikveh Israel Cemetery and others. We believe that the same kind of agreement will benefit both Independence National Historical Park and Washington Square.

It would be proper and fitting to give Washington Square the dignity it deserves under the technical guidance of the National Park Service and especially Independence National Historical Park as it prepares to celebrate its 40th birthday this June.

Thank you for this opportunity to speak here today and for your very kind attention.

TEL No. Apr 12.88 13:39 P.05

The Friends of
Independence National Historical Park

313 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19106 215-597-7019

The Friends of Independence National Historical Park

The Friends of Independence National Historical Park is a non-profit, cultural organization founded in 1972 to help conserve, develop, and interpret the Park for more than 4 million visitors each year. Time and money are contributed by 1500 individuals and corporations in the belief that those who live in the Philadelphia area have a special obligation to help maintain the sites of our national heritage as a symbol of freedom for the world.

Working with the National Park Service at Independence, especially with Superintendent Hobart G. Cawood as well as with John Milley, Chief of the Museums Division, FINHP has completed several specific projects in the pursuit of the goals listed above. These include provision of installation costs for the permanent archaeological exhibit in Franklin Court; acquisition of antique furnishings for the reception room in the west wing of Independence Hall; sponsorship of a book, Treasures of Independence; purchase of two chairs once owned by Governor John Penn and now in the Governor's Council Chamber in Independence Hall; funding for the manufacture of a carpet for the Senate Chamber of Congress Hall; purchase of important maps, prints, and drawings as well as a self-portrait by Charles Willson Peale; contribution to the preservation of Mikveh Israel cemetery; administration of funds for the creation of an 18th century garden at City Tavern; and provision of a stipend for a museum intern.

Welcome Park, an educational commemoration of William Penn and the founding of Philadelphia, was one of the most ambitious projects undertaken by FINHP. Hard-working volunteers raised $1,500,000 from 700 private donors for this important addition to Independence National Historical Park. Designed by Robert Venturi, with contributions of content from a committee of historians, Welcome Park was constructed on the site of William Penn's residence in Philadelphia. Penn signed the famous Charter of Privileges in his "Slate Roof House" in 1701. The Charter assured religious freedom to Pennsylvania's rapidly growing population within a frame of government which lasted until the Revolution. Fifty years after Penn returned to England in 1701, the national symbol now known as the Liberty Bell was cast to commemorate his Charter of Privileges.

After four years of study and planning, FINHP opened MIRACLE AT PHILADELPHIA: The Constitutional Convention Bicentennial Exhibition on September 16, 1986, 199 years after the signing of the Constitution. This exhibit, the first nationwide celebration of this historic event, utilizes documents, art and artifacts to tell the story of the delegates to the Convention and their efforts to create this new form of government. The exhibit was funded with major grants from The National Endowment for the Humanities and the J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust, and coordinated by FINHP in consortium with Independence National Historical Park, The American Philosophical Society, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. Special educational materials were prepared in conjunction with MIRACLE, and are available to school groups as well as to the general public. MIRACLE AT PHILADELPHIA will be open throughout the Bicentennial year of 1987.

Numerous scholarly and popular lecture series, tours, and musical programs are organized and funded by FINHP. Activities which directly benefit the summer visitor to the Park include an extensive program of free walking tours; a tea garden; and historical drama. A popular walking tour guidebook has been published for the convenience of both winter and summer visitors. Philadelphia area residents and visitors from other cities enjoy Philadelphia Open House, a nationally known program of neighborhood and cultural tours conducted under the auspices of FINHP every May.

Nearly $3,000,000 has been raised for Independence National Historical Park by the Friends. Our membership is proud to have the exceptional opportunity of working as a group of private citizens with a Federal agency to promote and preserve the environment of our national heritage. This work was recognized by the Department of the Interior in 1978 with the Conservation Service Award, the highest recognition granted to a private citizens' group by the Department. In April 1983, the Friends of INHP received the Secretary of the Interior's Commendation Award.

Senator CONRAD. Maybe we can get two birthday presents here today.

I want to thank our second panel for really excellent testimony. That is of real assistance to the subcommittee. We appreciate very much your taking the time to come here and show the interest that you have in something that is an important part of American history.

Mr. LAZIN. Thank you very much, Senator. We appreciate your kind consideration.

Senator CONRAD. Next we will hear from our third panel: Dr. John Challinor, board of directors, National Constitution Center; and Mr. A. E. Wolf, chairman of the National Constitution Center.

We can start with Dr. Challinor.

STATEMENT OF DR. JOAN R. CHALLINOR, MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

Dr. CHALLINOR. Thank you, Senator. My name is Joan Ritter Challinor, and it is a pleasure to come before you because I have spent much time in North Dakota. My father was a newspaper publisher, and we used to spend every summer in Duluth, and we used to come over to Grand Forks where we visited a gentleman called Opigard. Mr. Opigard was a very famous newspaper publisher.

I have spent a great deal of time in your State, and I had a chance to visit with the Governor out there and to relive some of those times. So it is rather a North Dakota day for me, which is unusual for me because I am an easterner.

I am a historian, and I specialize in the early history of our country. I have chaired the National Committee for the Bicentennial of the Treaty of Paris.

I chaired the Exhibit Task Force for Project 1987, which was an amalgam of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association to celebrate the Constitution. It was started 10 years before 1987. I have a great interest in the Constitution and in seeing that it is properly celebrated and properly memorialized.

Why? Because I have been a teacher in the university here, the American University. I know what the kids do not know. They do not know about the Constitution. They do not know how it was written, how it was framed, about the ratification, how difficult it was. They think that the whole thing was done at the moment at which we declared that we were independent. That is it. The war disappears. A few battles here and there. They do not know what the peace treaty was. Then suddenly the country is started.

It is exactly against this kind of thing that we at the National Constitution Center wish to put our time and effort. What happens is that we have these celebrations, we have a Bicentennial, we have a Centennial, and then it is gone.

From independence in 1976 we have painted fireplugs. We still have on my corner painted fireplugs to tell us that we had this in 1976. That is not enough, and it is not enough for our Constitution. Our Constitution is too great. It is a great document. It was great

not only because it was framed by geniuses but because it was ratified by the people; not by a government, by the people.

Then with only a blueprint in their hands those men started a government from scratch. I am afraid that that kind of wholeness will get lost if we simply say, well, we had September 17, 1987. We did the Constitution. You cannot do the Constitution. It is a living document, and people should care about it now, 10 years, 20 years. We should not just bring it out every 100 years, look at it, say how great we are, and then put it away again.

If only 50 percent of this country votes in general elections, one of the reasons is that they do not appreciate this Constitution. It is to overcome this kind of thing that we would like to have a National Constitution Center get that standing which your recognition can give unto us.

We say to the people that this is an ongoing, caring thing that we wish to do about a terribly important document. John Quincy Adams said it just right. He said the work of this Government to found this Government was the work of 13 years, not just the Declaration of Independence but the 13 years all the way to 1789.

It is to include the National Constitution Center in this whole picture, to give the country the whole picture that we ask you to consider the National Constitution Center as a national place where people can on an ongoing basis, year after year, be educated about the document, see exhibitory about the document, the scholars can learn about the national data base, and scholarly symposia will go on.

I think it is enormously important now and in the future. My fear is that, like always, we will do something. We will spend millions of dollars on having a national celebration, and then we will forget about it. We overcame localism in 1789 when we started our Government and people, instead of being Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, became Americans, and we would like to overcome that same localism now.

As Joseph Henry, the first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution explained,

> It is a moral obligation that the present should acknowledge its indebtedness to the past, that it should transmit the knowledge which it has received purified and increased as a richer inheritance to the future.

We are asking that the National Constitution Center be allowed to acknowledge its indebtedness to the past, that we transmit the knowledge of the Constitution which we have received purified and increased and give that richer inheritance to our future, our children and our grandchildren.

Thank you, Senator.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Challinor follows:]

TESTIMONY OF JOAN R. CHALLINOR
Member, Board of Directors
National Constitution Center

before the
Sub-Committee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests
April 14, 1988

My name is Joan R. Challinor. I am a historian, specializing in the early history of our country. I am a member of the Board of Directors of the National Constitution Center. In 1983, I chaired the National Committee for the Bicentennial of the Treaty of Paris. In 1985, I chaired the Exhibit Task Force of Project '87, the Bicentennial organization of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association. Some members of Congress may be familiar with my views on historical observances from the March 30, 1988 Congressional Record, where my remarks on that subject were reprinted.

As a historian and a United States citizen, my concern is with the understanding of the Constitution which all Americans need in order to participate in our democracy, and make it work. As Michael Kammen has said, "It may be the oddest phenomenon in American political culture; but the Constitution has not turned out to be readily comprehensible to ordinary citizens, nor has the story of constitutional education been a successful one through most of our past." The evidence of national polls, as well as the experience of any teacher tell us that the Constitution is not well understood. That is why I am here, and why I have worked to plan the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia. It is shocking to discover that throughout history we have never left a permanent legacy to our commemorative activities; the National Constitution Center breaks new ground as a permanent legacy to the activities of 1987 to 1991, the Bicentennial Era. Commemoration of the bicentennial of the Constitution did not and should not end in 1987. We tend to truncate our observances,

especially that of the Constitution, if we pay tribute only to the 55 framers. We forget those who fought so hard for the Constitution's ratification and those courageous men who put the machinery of government in motion, with only a blueprint in their hands.

The goal of the National Constitution Center is to increase knowledge and understanding of the Constitution on the part of all Americans. A truly unique organization, it is non-partisan, and its programs were developed by a cross-disciplinary and nationally-recognized team of scholars. Its focus is the general public, and its programs are designed to raise the level of civic literacy in the United States. This is not a think tank, but a multi-faceted institution with programs in four major areas:

1) Education of the Public. The most important of the Center's programs, this includes teacher training, adult discussion groups, radio and television programs.

2) Exhibitry. Over 5 million persons from across the nation visit Independence National Historical Park each year; the Constitution was written in Philadelphia, and the National Constitution Center belongs there. A series of exhibits will enrich their visit to the birthplace of the Constitution. Traveling exhibits will spread the word from Philadelphia across the 50 states.

3) A national Data Base will link information, resources, bibliographies and experts to anyone looking for an answer to constitutional questions.

4) Scholarly symposia will keep the Center abreast of the best constitutional scholarship and inform the other three program areas.

I am happy to be a part of the National Constitution Center and to urge Congress to recognize the important work the Center is doing. While the Center has made great strides already in developing and implementing programs, it is time now for the

federal government to participate. The Constitution created the national government, thus overcoming the localism so rampant in 1787. In the same way, we of the National Constitution Center wish to be recognized as a national entity, overcoming, 200 years later, the same localism which still exists about the Constitution. The strength of our democracy rests on a voting public which understands the principles of the federal system of government embedded in the Constitution. It is important for United States Senate to recognize that the federal government has some responsibility to see that this Center succeeds; it should be officially encouraged and established as a national treasure. Joseph Henry, the first Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, explained our obligations to both the past and the future when he wrote in 1874, "it is a moral obligation that the present should acknowledge its indebtedness to the past, that it should transmit the knowledge which it has received, purified and increased, as a richer inheritance to the future."

Thank you. I would like to introduce Ted Wolf, chairman of the National Constitution Center.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you very much for that testimony, which is excellent and moving as well. We appreciate it. We appreciate your taking the time to be here.

Next we will hear from Mr. A.E. Wolf, the chairman of the board of the National Constitution Center.

Welcome.

STATEMENT OF A.E. WOLF, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Senator Conrad.

Joan, that was terrific.

Dr. CHALLINOR. Well, I care. I cannot help it.

Mr. WOLF. Well, that is the way the Constitution is.

On April 21, 1987, Senator, Arlen Specter read into the Congressional Record, "The Constitution is the most important political document in the history of the world." I would change only one word relative to how I feel about it. I would take out the word "history."

The emphasis in all of the hearings today has been on history. People are concerned about history, and so am I. I am married to a colonial American historian, a Ph.D. who has written a couple of books and runs a graduate center, as a matter of fact, at the University of Pennsylvania and keeps me in touch with history.

My concern in this regard is not with history. It is with the future. I am not a doctor, a politician, a lawyer, a political scientist, an historian, a judge. I am a businessman from Philadelphia who has raised five children through the 1960's and 1970's and who has witnessed in my lifetime what I consider to be an erosion of the understanding of just what the common denominators are in our society and what makes it work.

Now, that has nothing to do with bricks and mortar, with sites, with memorials. In fact, I really object to the use of the word "memorial" in connection with the Constitution. I object even though I love Senator Specter for sponsoring our bill and Senator Heinz as well. I object to the use of the word "history" in relating to the Constitution because what concerns me about the Constitution is the future.

I think that I am among a distinct minority of citizens in this country right now who look at the Constitution as other than a 200-year-old piece of parchment written by long dead formerly famous men. That bothers me.

I am only going to make a few points to differentiate what we are trying to do from the ordinary, and then I am going to get out of here because I remember, Senator, you used the word "rapidly". I agree with that. We have already missed our train.

This is a populist idea, not an elitist idea. It is not scholars talking to scholars, lawyers talking to lawyers. It is an attempt to illuminate the reality of the Constitution in relation to current events for what I call "the ordinary citizen".

By the way, I am an ordinary citizen. Most of us are ordinary citizens. Most of us do not understand the relationship between the Constitution upon which our Government and our society is based and current events.

Any sniff of partisan politics that enters into our activities would destroy the purpose of the Center. We do not want to decide. We do not want to answer questions. We want to illuminate the connection between a current critical event, a headline news item and the Constitution and simply explain that, yes, there is a relationship. Here are some possible interpretations.

Because what this society needs to continue to function and grow and live is common denominators which we all accept, which are part of a general overall societal consensus. If we lose that, we lose everything.

So the first job of the Constitution Center will be to define the issues as they arise, not in a reactive way but in a proactive way. We want to look at current events. We want to read the newspapers. We want to see what is on television.

We realize at that point that those events are in the minds of the people of this country. You know what they are. You could go back over the last 12 months and pick out six significant events with major constitutional implications which could be useful as a target for the activities of a National Constitution Center; not to tell people how to think, not to tell people how to vote, but to explain that there is a relationship rather than to try to teach the Constitution in an abstract way.

It does not work. It has been proven. Joan referred to that. You cannot take a theoretical, hypothetical abstract series of rules and regulations, particularly when they relate to organizational arrangements, and expect them to be meaningful to the "ordinary citizen". It is not the way to teach the Constitution.

You can take current events that are on the front page that occupy our attention and illuminate the relationship and what the Constitution has to say relative to those issues. So it is an activist role.

The next point relates to communications and immediacy. As you can see, we think that the prime role of the Constitution Center is communications and fast, quick, worldwide communications. How? By having a data base with constitutional import; knowing what the books are, who the people are, where the articles are, what the judicial precedents are, and bringing them to bear on the current event as it arises; being accessible by remote computer terminals to this data base and also having accessibility to the sources of information about the Constitution, being able to pull in the expertise and then disseminate it to an existing network.

That is the prime job as we see it of a Constitution Center, so that quickly people can understand there is a constitutional relevance and there is a way to find out what that relevance is. It puts people in touch not only with other people but with those ideas.

We will be connected to inputters; by that, I mean people who have constitutional expertise to contribute, many of whom are already on our planning committee. We will be connected to recipients; that is, the audience to whom that information can be distributed.

The next point relates to the discussion here about the location of the center on Independence Mall in Philadelphia. Location and

bricks and mortar are not my prime interest, but getting attention and being heard is.

I feel very strongly and we feel very strongly that the place to be the focal point of the dissemination of the information, the place to be the communications of, the place to be the symbol that people see in their minds when they think of the Constitution, just as they see the Statue of Liberty when they think of liberty, is someplace right there where the Constitution was created in 1787.

It does not mean that it would not function without that, because it would. But it is the focal point of constitutional thought, and it is obviously the place, among others, where the center should be located.

The purpose of the center, then, is to fill a need of communications, ordinary citizen information and understanding of just what the Constitution is and not that it is a historical document but that it relates to the way I live, the quality of life in this society, and this critical event in which I am interested right now, today.

So there is a job that is needed. It will help not only the society to understand itself but for nongovernmental aspects of the society to understand how the government works. It will help to communicate that there is a reason, that there is a relationship, that there is a common ground between the ordinary citizen and what is going on right here in this room today.

This is my closing. The purpose of this visit is to try to get approval, governmental, Federal, congressional approval for the concept which will give us the status that we need to go out and do the rest of the job and to try to get a reopening of the consideration of the value of putting that symbol on that site in Independence National Historic Park.

Senator, thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Wolf follows:]

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS, AND FORESTS

BY A. E. WOLF, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

April 14, 1988

In the Congressional Record of April 21, 1987, Senator Arlen Specter refers to the United States Constitution as "the most important political document in the history of the world".

I believe that. I know that all of you here believe that too.

I am not a lawyer. Nor am I a historian or a political scientist or a politician. I'm a businessman from Philadelphia. I'm here because I'm a citizen - one of we the people - and because I know that I am fortunate and privileged to live in these United States. I am here because I want to do everything I can to insure that we the people understand that the Constitution is the source of the liberties that we enjoy - to insure that we all understand that the Constitution is the most important political document in the history of the world.

Knowledge of the Constitution's impact on current affairs is woefully lacking among the very people who are we the people. We the people all have different interests to protect. We the people all have different backgrounds, beliefs and values. But we the people were mutually dependent on one another two hundred years ago, and we continue to be mutually dependent on one another today. This is true in spite of all of our differences. We continue to depend on the Constitution as our only common denominator to maintain this more perfect Union that established Justice, insured domestic Tranquility, provided for the common defence, promoted the general Welfare, and secured the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

87-986 0 - 88 - 5

The purpose of the National Constitution Center is to educate citizens, in a completely non-partisan way, about the direct and powerful role the Constitution plays in our everyday lives.

The Center's basic activity is communications. Our goal is to communicate the richness of the Constitution to a variety of audiences. The National Constitution Center programs are designed to reach students and teachers inside and outside of the classroom, and to reach adults in special seminars, reading and discussion groups, radio shows, bus placards, and documentary films on issues such as the rights of labor under the Constitution. Standing and traveling exhibits will take audiences to "Constitutions in Time and Space," or give them a "Citizenship Test," or allow them to use a "Voting Booth" to give their opinion on constitutional issues. Scholarly convocations will allow Center programming to be academically up-to-date. The Center's international program is bringing scholars, diplomats, and government officials from South America, Asia and Eastern Europe to discuss and compare constitutional issues.

For me, the most compelling of our programs will be an integrated data base of information with access to reference systems throughout the nation. This data base will be available through computer tapes, microfiche and the like to any facility or individual. Special programs and integration will be available to educational institutions throughout the United States. All grammar, secondary, and post-secondary facilities will be able to take advantage of this tremendous source of information. As a mechanism for defining issues for public discussion regarding the Constitution, the Center will constantly involve community leaders, scholars, and citizens in public debate over contemporary issues affected by the Constitution.

The Center's basic structure will be based on connections-connections of every type with every institutional and individual segment of the nation: schools, colleges, universities, business associations, professional societies, the body politic, the media in all of its forms, and many other established classifications in this country and abroad. The job of the Center, in addition to planning and executing a continuing agenda of general constitutional interest will be to explain the constitutional implications of everyday events. Then, by combining the Constitutional Data Base with the ability to communicate, the Center will act as a catalyst for dialogue where the subject matter has a constitutional dimension.

Incidentally, the objective will not be to determine, decide conclude, or answer a specific constitutional question with a definitive interpretation or answer, but rather to show that the Constitution has a bearing on the issue and that a variety of interpretations are possible.

Finally, there are several issues surrounding the National Constitution Center's being located in or near Independence National Historical Park. As we all know, a communications hub, given today's technology, does not have to be location specific; it can be anywhere reached by wires or radio signals. But the National Constitution Center is more than that. It is a symbol, and symbols (the Statue of Liberty, Independence Hall, the Liberty Bell) are all visible and solid. They have the ability to both attract attention and inspire thought. The five million people who come to Independence National Historical Park each year do so to visit those shrines of our Republic. Though those buildings and objects are symbolic, they also provide ideas, messages, information with a level of credibility that is impossible to replicate and which is absolutely necessary to obtain the goals of the National Constitution Center.

Just as citizens visualize the statue when they think of Liberty, they need to visualize something when they think of the Constitution. The fact that there is no such symbol now is one of the educational problems we face.

So, the Center itself, in or close to the same park with Independence Hall, the location of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, designed for both operational effectiveness and efficiency, as well as constitutional symbolism, makes sense for maximum impact on We The People.

The space is available. The idea is reasonable and right. As Walter Berns has said, a physical center, placed on the scene where the Constitution was drafted, will serve as a powerful reminder of the source of the liberties we enjoy.

To date, the Center has been financed by contributions from individuals and corporate and family foundations from all over the United States. We have just received a major grant from the Burger Commission in support of a teacher training program throughout the Mid-Atlantic states.

We have applied for a grant from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to finance a feasibility study which will provide us with a plan for the actual Center.

Operating and maintenance support will come from we the people in a wide variety of ways: outright grants, memberships, subscriptions, programs, events, materials, etc., in order to make it participatory with shared citizen ownership. The National Constitution Center, in addition to securing a broad base of private support, has received both state and city support and will continue to encourage the development of that public/private partnership.

A country built on democracy depends for its survival on an informed citizenry. In the decade and century ahead, our public decisions will determine, quite literally, whether and under what conditions we survive as a people. Although the Center's ultimate vision of an informed and thoughtful citizenry is, perhaps, not fully attainable, it is a vision for which we must strive. We must not lose by default the precious legacy that is our constitutional system of government.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you, Mr. Wolf. We appreciate that testimony.

I have just been reviewing the statement of the Associate Director of the National Park Service submitted for this hearing today, and he says, in part:

> Mr. Chairman, we recognize the laudable intentions of this bill; however, we recommend that it not be enacted. The purpose and functions of the proposed centers are being addressed appropriately through the ongoing activities of the National Park Service, the National Archives and other agencies.

They go on to list a number of things that they are doing. The National Park Service published a history of the convention; biographical material on the framers of the Constitution.

The National Park Service has surveyed constitutional history and the national historic landmark being studied which is publicly available.

The National Park Service prepared the study leading to the inscription of Independence Hall on the World Heritage List.

The National Archives has conducted a series of seminars on the Constitution and constitutional issues.

They are really missing the point, are they not? What you are attempting to do here is substantially different from what they have been talking about.

Mr. WOLF. I am so glad you said that.

Dr. CHALLINOR. If I may say something, if we have independence in Independence National Park, the people, the 5 million visitors who come every day will physically traverse what it took to get this country started. What they see now is independence. The Constitution is fed in somewhere else.

What we would like to do is to have those people physically traverse from one end of the park to the other the 13 years that John Quincy Adams spoke about so that they understand that the Constitution and the Declaration are part of the same process and that the Constitution is what gets this country going. So they do it physically as the country did.

What they get now is the Declaration of Independence, and then from somewhere else they get fed in.

These things that he mentioned are wonderful. I attended some of those seminars down here, but you have to go there.

What we would like to do is to present this to the citizens of the United States and say this is one whole piece.

Mr. WOLF. I would like to see commentary currently with the issue on advise and consent, war power, separation of powers, whatever the issue is. I would like to see the relationship to the Constitution illuminated for the ordinary citizen because then we will begin to develop a feeling for this common denominator, which any society needs.

Senator CONRAD. You are really talking about a living document and its current relevance and finding ways to illuminate that current relevance rather than dealing with it as a dead document, which in all deference, I respect very much all of these things that have been done but, frankly, they really miss the mark of what it is you are talking about.

Mr. WOLF. Yes. Thank you for saying it. Now I do not have to say it.

Senator CONRAD. Well, I appreciate very much this testimony today. I think the subcommittee will find it very interesting.

Frankly, my personal reaction is you have hit upon an idea which has great merit. I have been to the Archives. I have been to all of these things. I must say I did not attend some of the seminars, but I engaged in a personal study of the Constitution when we had a Supreme Court vacancy because I am not an attorney, I am not a lawyer, and I thought it would be important to remember what it is precisely we are trying to do here.

With respect to that, I looked at and reread the Constitution several times and read a number of works on how the Constitution was written, and visited some of the sites. What you are talking about is something that is lacking. I do not see it in any of the things that we have. I think it is an exciting idea, and I commend you for pressing ahead.

With that, I want to reiterate that the record will be held open for two weeks for the purpose of taking any additional material or testimony that might be made available.

Senator Burdick of North Dakota, I know, has a statement he would like to enter into the record with respect to Fort Lincoln, and others might be interested in submitting statements on that or the other matters that are before us.

I personally would now like after this experience to submit a statement of my own on behalf of the proposal that you have made, because I think it has great merit.

With that, we will declare this hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests closed.

[Whereupon, at 3:45 p.m. the hearing adjourned.]

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

CITY COUNCIL

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

BRIAN J. O'NEILL
ROOM 586, CITY HALL
MU 6-3422—3423

COUNCILMAN—10TH DISTRICT

April 7, 1988

Hon. Arlen Specter
Room 303, Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Arlen:

I understand that you introduced Senate Bill 1052 which would establish a National Center for the Constitution at Independence National Historic Park here in Philadelphia. It is my further understanding that since being assigned to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources there has been no activity on it.

I had a meeting with Barbara Perkovic from the National Constitution Center and they are most anxious to see this Bill move from Committee to the full senate for passage.

Whatever you can do to move your Bill along will be most appreciated by the members of the National Constitution Center, myself and all Philadelphians. Thank you for all efforts in this matter.

Very truly yours,

Brian

BRIAN J. O'NEILL

BJO/amr
CC: Barbara Perkovic

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John C. Van Horne
Librarian

February 9, 1988

Honorable Arlen Specter
United States Senate
Room 303
Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Specter,

During the early months of the 100th Congress, you introduced Senate Bill 1052 which would establish a National Center for the Constitution at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. Your efforts on behalf of this important and vital concept have been noble and deeply appreciated. The value of the center as a national educational and information resource is unquestioned.

However, since Senate Bill 1052 was referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources ten months ago, there has been little activity involving it. I am writing you to ask for your personal assistance with our effort to have the bill reported from the Committee to the full Senate with a recommendation for passage.

As a scholar of constitutional issues and the impact of the Constitution on American history, you are also aware that the recent Bicentennial celebration of the Constitution's birth has increased public awareness and understanding of the document. Yet, the level of this understanding is still terribly insufficient. We must seize upon the exposure and attention that has surrounded the Bicentennial and created this increased awareness. The early months of this year are critical to utilizing this positive public sentiment for the Constitution, and is why we hope that Senate Bill 1052 can be moved through the Committee and passed in the Senate quickly.

Your commitment to and support of the National Constitution Center has been unwavering. We thank you for all that you have done, and hope you can continue to lead the fight in the important weeks ahead for passage of S. 1052.

Sincerely,

John C. Van Horne

John C. Van Horne
Member, Board of Directors
National Constitution Center

JCVH:lkk

pc: Barbara Perkovic

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
THIRTEEN HUNDRED LOCUST STREET
PHILADELPHIA PENNSYLVANIA 19107
TELEPHONE 215-732-6200

February 10, 1988

Honorable Arlen Specter
United States Senate
Room 303
Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Specter:

During the early months of the 100th Congress, you introduced Senate Bill 1052 which would establish a National Center for the Constitution at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. Your efforts on behalf of this important and vital concept have been noble and deeply appreciated. The value of the Center as a national educational and information resource is unquestioned.

However, since Senate Bill 1052 was referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources ten months ago, there has been little activity involving it. I am writing you to ask for your personal assistance with our effort to have the bill reported from the Committee to the full Senate with a recommendation for passage.

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Your commitment to and support of the National Constitution Center has been unwavering. We thank you for all that you have done, and hope you can continue to lead the fight in the important weeks ahead for passage of S. 1052.

Sincerely,

Peter J. Parker
Director

NEW JERSEY COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES

March 31, 1988

The Honorable Bill Bradley
731 Hart Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Bradley:

I write to urge your support of Senate Bill 1052 to establish a National Center for the Constitution, a center to be built within Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. The establishment of a permanent center, to serve as the focal point for education the nation about the Constitution, may well be the most significant thing we can do during this Bicentennial season. Its permanence would insure the dissemenation of educational programs in New Jersey in the future - when fireworks are but a memory.

New Jersey residents have demonstrated their interest in examining and studying the Constitution. Over 1000 people have attended lectures on "The Blessings of Liberty" and 35,000 will have seen the poster exhibits in 121 locations by the end of June. Funding of these programs was made available to the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities through the Independence National Historical Park.

This is clearly a relationship that benefits New Jerseyans, and Section 3 (b) (2) of the bill S 1052 provides for the development of educational materials and services that will make it possible to continue public programs on the Constitution in our state.

Sincerely yours,

Miriam L. Murphy
Executive Director

cc: Dr. Trudy Vincent

MLM/bi

73 EASTON AVENUE, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY 08901 (201) 932-77

The New York Public Library

Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, New York 10018

President and Chief Executive Officer · (212) 930-0736

March 14, 1988

The Honorable Alfonse M. D'Amato
United States Senate
520 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3201

Dear Senator D'Amato:

I write to request your support for Senate Bill 1052, which will establish a National Constitution Center within the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, the site of the birthplace of the Constitution. Your co-sponsorship of this bill, which was introduced by Senator Specter last April, will help to bring about the creation of a national resource center dedicated to the dissemination of information about the U.S. Constitution, the only institution of its kind in the country.

As a member of the Board of Directors of the National Constitution Center, I strongly believe that the heightening of public awareness about our Constitutional heritage that blossomed during the bicentennial celebration should endure and be provided for in years to come.

The educational opportunities that would arise from the creation of such a center are invaluable, and would include a national travelling exhibitions program, elaborating on the history and contemporary significance of the Constitution; the development of an archives for programs on the Bicentennial of the Constitution; would serve as an intellectual center, providing a forum for scholarly and public debate on constitutional issues and providing advisement for a wide range of public education programs designed to educate the nation about aspects of the Constitution and its impact on America's government and history. Additional activities being planned include teacher training workshops for elementary and secondary school teachers to improve the effectiveness of teaching the Constitution in our schools, and the development of an integrated data base of information with access to reference systems

throughout the nation. This tremendous source of information will be available to both private and public educational facilities and to individuals.

Your co-sponsorship of this bill, which will have far-reaching benefits for all Americans, would be most appreciated. Best wishes and many thanks.

Sincerely,

Vartan Gregorian

VG:jg

bcc: Florence Zeller

New York Council for the Humanities

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April 4, 1988

The Honorable Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Russell Senate Office Building, Room 464
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator D'Amato:

I am writing to express my support for the establishment of a National Center for the Constitution at Independence National Park in Philadelphia. I hope you will lend your support to Senate Bill 1052, introduced by Senators Specter and Heinz, which is intended to create such a center.

As you know, the New York Council for the Humanities has been actively supporting programs for the citizens of New York on our Constitution and its interpretation. A National Center would be an appropriate impressive, and lasting legacy of our Bicentennial celebrations, one which would continue to provide students and adult citizens with the information they need to understand the significance and the implications of our government's foundations.

Thank you for your continuing interest in, and support for, the work of our nation's humanities councils and for your consideration of this related matter.

Sincerely,

Jay L. Kaplan
Executive Director

JLK:fa

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JESSE H. CHOPER
DEAN

SCHOOL OF LAW (BOALT HALL)
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720
TELEPHONE: (415) 642-6483

February 17, 1988

Honorable Pete Wilson
United States Senate
Room 720
Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0502

Dear Pete:

Last April, Senator Specter introduced Senate Bill 1052 to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution to exist within Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. As a member of the Board of Directors of the National Constitution Center, I am enclosing information about it, and wish to request that you consider co-sponsoring the bill.

The idea is to create a site at Independence Park to serve as the designated national focal point for educating the nation about the Constitution. The mission of the Center is to create exhibits about aspects of the Constitution and its impact on America's government and history; develop scholarly and public debates on issues of importance that involve the Constitution; educate the public through research and scholarly programs that would increase public awareness of the Constitution; and extend the surge of national awareness of the Constitution resulting from the Bicentennial celebration through publicity, issue debate, and information.

As a "National Center," this facility will be a national treasure that will complement the historical richness of Independence National Park. Independence Hall is the birthplace of our freedom and the birthplace of the Constitution. The National Constitution Center will serve as an anchor at the north end of the Park. Exhibits pertaining to the Constitution will be organized and promoted by the Center and will visit each of the fifty states providing lessons and information about constitutional issues.

The Center's most compelling facet will be an integrated data base of information with access to reference systems throughout the nation. This data base will be available through computer tapes, microfiche and the like to any facility or individual. Special programs and integration will be available to both private and public educational institutions throughout California. In addition, all grammar, secondary, and post-secondary facilities in California will be able to take advantage of this tremendous source of information.

Educational programs such as teacher training workshops for California elementary and secondary school teachers will be held to improve the effectiveness of teaching the Constitution in our schools. Center staff can assist in recommendations for teacher training, and curriculum materials which can be used in California schools to promote improved civic education of citizens.

Finally, as a mechanism for defining issues for public discussion regarding the Constitution, the Center will constantly involve community leaders, scholars, and citizens of California in public debate over contemporary issues affected by the Constitution.

Many thanks for your consideration of this request.

All best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jesse Choper

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE
03755

THE PRESIDENT

March 2, 1988

The Honorable Warren Rudman
530 Senate Hart Office Building
2nd Street and Constitution Avenue
Washington, DC 20510-2902

Dear Senator Rudman:

Last April, Senator Specter introduced Senate Bill 1052 to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution to exist within Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. As a member of the Board of Directors of the National Constitution Center, I am enclosing information about it, and wish to request that you consider co-sponsoring the bill.

The idea is to create a site at Independence Park to serve as the designated national focal point for educating the nation about the Constitution. The mission of the Center is to create exhibits about aspects of the Constitution and its impact on America's government and history; develop scholarly and public debates on issues of importance that involve the Constitution; educate the public through research and scholarly programs that would increase public awareness of the Constitution; and extend the surge of national awareness of the Constitution resulting from the Bicentennial celebration through publicity, issue debate, and information.

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Finally, as a mechanism for defining issues for public discussions regarding the Constitution, the Center will constantly involve community leaders, scholars, and citizens of California in public debate over contemporary issues affected by the Constitution.

Many thanks for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

James O. Freedman

File this is a copy

FTC DV Panel 3

Due to Barbara Mikulski

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Department of Government

March 7, 1988

The Honorable Paul Sarbanes
United States Senate
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 332
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Sarbanes:

I write to urge your support of Senate Bill 1052 to establish a National Center for the Constitution, a center to be built within Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. As someone who helped celebrate the Constitutions's Bicentennial last year by speaking all over this country and, as well, in France, Portugal, Mexico, and Chile, I think I am in a position to say that the establishment of a permanent center, to serve as the focal point for educating the nation about the Constitution, may very well be the most significant thing we can do during this bicentennial season. Our lectures -- including, alas, my own -- will be forgotten, along with the memory of the fireworks, but a physical center, placed on the scene where the Constitution was drafted, will serve as a powerful reminder of the source of the liberties we enjoy.

A detailed description of the proposed Center, and the activities planned in it, may be had from Senator Spector who, with Senator Heinz, introduced S.1052. I hope they can count on your support.

Sincerely,

Walter Berns
John M. Olin University Professor

Washington DC 20057-0001

STANFORD LAW SCHOOL

March 4, 1988

The Honorable Jeff Bingaman
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Jeff:

Some months ago, Senator Specter introduced Senate Bill 1052 to create a National Center for the United States Constitution, to be located near the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. I write to urge you to consider co-sponsoring the bill. I am a member of the Board of Directors of the Center, and I think it is not only a worthwhile but an unusually important undertaking; and I therefore enclose some information about S. 1052.

The idea of the Center -- and the reason I agreed to serve on its Board -- is to assure that the surge of national awareness of the Constitution will not end once the Bicentennial years pass. I am not a fan of everything that's been done on the Bicentennial, but I am a strong believer in having a national institution which will maintain focus on the Constitution into the 1990s and beyond. The aim of the Center is to develop scholarly and public debates on constitutional issues, to create and circulate exhibits about the impact of the Constitution on American government and history, and generally to educate the public through research and scholarly but accessible programs that would increase public awareness of the Constitution.

Although the Center will appropriately be located in the Independence National Park in Philadelphia, its aim is truly to be a "National Center": its programs and its exhibits will be nationwide, not local.

In short, the Center, if it flourishes as I trust it will -- and if it obtains Congressional support -- will be as important to the citizens, teachers and students of California, New Mexico and all the other states as it will be to Pennsylvania.

It is for these reasons that I urge you to support and if possible co-sponsor this proposal. I appreciate your consideration for my request.

With warm regards to Anne and you,

Sincerely,

Gerald Gunther,
William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law

Crown Quadrangle
Stanford, California
94305

National Constitution Center

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CEO & Chairman of the Board
Checkpoint Systems

February 22, 1988

Honorable Bill Bradley
United States Senate
731 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3001

Dear Mr. Bradley:

Last April Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania introduced Senate Bill 1052 to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution to exist within Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The concept of the Center involves creating a site at Independence Park which will serve as the designated national focal point for educating the nation about the Constitution. The mission of the Center is to create exhibits that attend to aspects of the Constitution and its impact on America's government and history; develop scholarly and public debates on issues of importance that involve the Constitution; educate the public through research and scholarly programs that would increase public awareness of the Constitution; and extend the surge of national awareness of the Constitution resulting from the recent Bicentennial celebration through publicity, issue debate, and information.

As a "National Center" serving all of the citizens of the United States, this facility will be a national treasure that will complement the historical richness of Independence National Park. Independence Hall is the birthplace of our freedom and the birthplace of the Constitution. The National Constitution Center will serve as an anchor at the north end of the Park. Exhibits pertaining to the Constitution will be organized and promoted by the Center and will travel the nation to visit each of the fifty states providing lessons and information about constitutional issues and the document itself.

The Center's most compelling facet will be an integrated data base of information with access to reference systems throughout the nation. This data base will be available through computer tapes, microfiche and the like to any facility or individual. Special programs and integration will be available to educational institutions throughout the state such Rutgers University, Princeton, and other New Jersey educational institutions. All grammar, secondary, and post-secondary facilities in New Jersey will be able to take advantage of this tremendous source of information

Educational programs such as teacher training workshops for New Jersey elementary and secondary school teachers will be held to improve the effectiveness of teaching the Constitution in our schools. Center staff can assist in recommendations for teacher training, and curriculum materials which can be used in New Jersey schools to promote improved civic education of citizens.

Finally, as a mechanism for defining issues for public discussion regarding the Constitution, the Center will constantly involve community leaders, scholars, and citizens of New Jersey in public debate over contemporary issues affected by the Constitution.

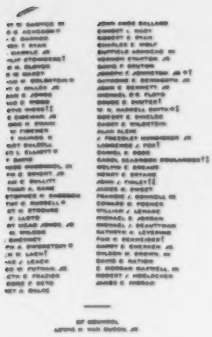
As Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Constitution Center, and a New Jersey businessman,I am enclosing information about the Center, and would like to request that you co-sponsor S.1052. Also, I hope you can promote the National Constitution Center among your Senate colleagues; we would like to meet with you in the next week or so to discuss the National Constitution Center. The legacy of the Constitution must be preserved through education and public discussion. Senate Bill 1052 and the National Center which it designates will continue that legacy.

Thank you for your support and co-sponsorship.

Sincerely,

A. E. Wolf
Chairman

AEW:ev
Encls.



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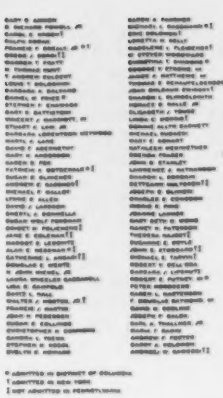

February 8, 1988

Honorable H. John Heinz, III
United States Senate
277 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear John:

During the early months of the 100th Congress, you introduced Senate Bill 1052 which would establish a National Center for the Constitution at Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia. Your efforts on behalf of this important and vital concept have been noble and deeply appreciated. The value of the Center as a national educational kand information resource is unquestioned.

However, since Senate Bill 1052 was referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources ten months ago, there has been little activity involving it. I am writing to ask for your personal assistance with our effort to have the bill reported from the Committee to the full Senate with a recommendation for passage.

As a scholar of constitutional issues and the impact of the Constitution on American history, you are also aware that the recent Bicentennial celebration of the Constitutions' birth has increased public awareness and understanding of the document. Yet, the level of this understanding is still terribly insufficient. We must seize upon the exposure and attention that has surrounded the Bicentennial and created this increased awareness. The early months of this year are critical to utilizing this positive public sentiment for the constitution, and is why we hope that Senate Bill 1052 can be moved through the committee and passed in the Senate quickly.

Your commitment to and support of the National Constitution Center has been unwavering. We thank you for all that you have done, and hope that you can

continue to lead the fight in the important weeks ahead for passage of Senate Bill 1052.

Sincerely,

Lewis H. Van Dusen, Jr.

LHVDJr/np

dHF

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ROBERTA HAM WALKER
Wilmington
RICHMOND D. WILLIAMS
Wilmington
KAREN A. YOUNG
Dover
TONI YOUNG
Wilmington

April 4, 1988

The Honorable William V. Roth, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Roth:

I am writing to urge your support of S.B. 1052 which would establish a National Center for the Constitution in Philadelphia.

The Delaware Humanities Forum has devoted considerable time and expense to programming on the Bicentennial of the Constitution in the last three years, with good effect. But the public's interest in the Constitution and in this nation's founding principles continues unabated. I recently spoke to a group of my colleagues from other states and they too report that public interest remains high.

Situated in Philadelphia and devoted to public education about the Constitution, the Center would be ideally positioned to meet the growing need for stimulating programming about the fundamental law of our land. The time is ripe to cement the gains in public education made over the last few years and to give future generations the opportunity to learn by establishing a permanent center.

A detailed description of the proposed Center, and the activities planned in it, may be acquired from Senator Spector who, with Senator Heinz, introduced S.B. 1052. I hope they can count on your support.

Sincerely,

Henry H. Hirschbiel
Executive Director

Delaware Humanities Forum
2600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Wilmington, Delaware 19806 • 573-4410

dHF

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DENNIS N. FORNEY
Lewes

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Wilmington

ROBERTA HAM WALKER
Wilmington

RICHMOND D. WILLIAMS
Wilmington

KAREN A. YOUNG
Dover

TONI YOUNG
Wilmington

April 4, 1988

The Honorable Joseph Biden
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Biden:

I am writing to urge your support of S.B. 1052 which would establish a National Center for the Constitution in Philadelphia.

The Delaware Humanities Forum has devoted considerable time and expense to programming on the Bicentennial of the Constitution in the last three years, with good effect. But the public's interest in the Constitution and in this nation's founding principles continues unabated. I recently spoke to a group of my colleagues from other states and they too report that public interest remains high.

Situated in Philadelphia and devoted to public education about the Constitution, the Center would be ideally positioned to meet the growing need for stimulating programming about the fundamental law of our land. The time is ripe to cement the gains in public education made over the last few years and to give future generations the opportunity to learn by establishing a permanent center.

A detailed description of the proposed Center, and the activities planned in it, may be acquired from Senator Spector who, with Senator Heinz, introduced S.B. 1052. I hope they can count on your support.

Sincerely,

Henry H. Hirschbiel
Executive Director

Delaware Humanities Forum
2600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Wilmington, Delaware 19806 • 573-4410

R. STEWART RAUCH
1212 MARKET STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19107

March 23, 1988

The Honorable Lawrence Coughlin
2467 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Larry:

Arlen Specter has introduced Senate Bill 1052, which would establish a National Center for the Constitution at Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia.

As a scholar of constitutional issues and the impact of the Constitution on American history, you are also aware that the recent Bicentennial celebration of the Constitution's birth has increased public awareness and understanding of the document. Yet, the level of this understanding is still insufficient. We must seize upon the exposure and attention that has surrounded the Bicentennial and created this increased awareness.

I am writing you to ask that you co-sponsor S. 1052, or a companion measure, in the House of Representatives.

Sincerely,

R. Stewart Rauch

BCC: Ms. Barbara J. Perkovic

R. STEWART RAUCH, JR.
1212 MARKET STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19107

March 23, 1988

The Honorable Arlen Specter
United States Senate
Room 303 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Arlen:

During the early months of the 100th Congress, you introduced Senate Bill 1052 which would establish a National Center for the Constitution at Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia. Your efforts on behalf of this important and vital concept have been deeply appreciated. The value of the Center as a national educational and information resource is unquestioned.

However, since Senate Bill 1052 was referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources ten months ago, there has been little activity involving it. I am writing you to ask for your personal assistance with our effort to have the bill reported from the Committee to the full Senate with a recommendation for passage.

As a scholar of constitutional issues and the impact of the Constitution on American history, you are also aware that the recent Bicentennial celebration of the Constitution's birth has increased public awareness and understanding of the document. Yet, the level of this understanding is still insufficient. We must seize upon the exposure and attention that has surrounded the Bicentennial and created this increased awareness. The early months of this year are critical to utilizing this positive public sentiment for the Constitution, and we hope that Senate Bill 1052 can be moved through the Committee and passed in the Senate quickly.

Your commitment to and support of the National Constitution Center has been unwavering. We thank you for all that you have done, and hope you can continue to lead the fight in the important weeks ahead for passage of S. 1052.

Sincerely,

R. Stewart Rauch

BCC: Ms. Barbara J. Perkovic

Rouse & Associates

Suite 306 1900 Market Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103 215-564-3180

March 9, 1988

The Honorable Thomas Foglietta
231 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Tom:

Last April, Senator Specter introduced Senate Bill 1052 to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution to exist within Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. As a member of the Board of Directors of the National Constitution Center, I am enclosing information about it, and wish to request that you consider co-sponsoring the bill.

The idea is to create a site at Independence Park to serve as the designated national focal point for educating the nation about the Constitution. The mission of the Center is to create exhibits about aspects of the Constitution and its impact on America's government and history: develop scholarly and public debates on issues of importance that involve the Constitution: educate the public through research and scholarly programs that would increase public awareness of the Constitution: and extend the surge of national awareness of the Constitution resulting from the Bicentennial celebration through publicity, issue debate and information.

As a "National Center," this facility will be a national treasure that will complement the historical richness of Independence National Park. Independence Hall is the birthplace of our freedom and the birthplace of the Constitution. The National Constitution Center will serve as an anchor at the north end of the Park. Exhibits pertaining to the Constitution will be organized and promoted by the Center and will visit each of the fifty states providing lessons and information about constitutional issues.

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Finally, as a mechanism for defining issues for public discussion regarding the Constitution, the Center will constantly involve community leaders, scholars and citizens of California in public debate over contemporary issues affected by the Constitution.

Many thanks for your consideration of this request.

All best wishes.

Sincerely,

Willard G. Rouse, III

WGR/mv

cc: Senator John Heinz

March 30, 1988

Congressman Ernie Konnyu
511 Cannon Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Konnyu:

Throughout the country, last year's observance of the Bicentennial of the Constitution inspired many programs and a great deal of thought and discussion about the American constitutional system. Now there is a need to insure some continuation of general interest in this critically important subject. An eminently sound way to do so would be to establish a National Center for the United States Constitution in Philadelphia's Independence National Historical Park, as proposed in Senate Bill 1052. Such an institution would serve as a valuable resource base for scholars and teachers and as an influential center of continuing education in American constitutional history and constitutional law. There is, I believe, no subject of major public interest in which the past and present of this nation are more intimately and vitally related.

Therefore, I hope that you will give S. 1052 your strong support, and, if possible, sign on as one of its sponsors. I enclose a brochure giving more detailed information about the proposed Center and about the people who have developed the idea.

Sincerely yours,

Don E. Fehrenbacher
Professor of History Emeritus

Same letter sent to Senators Pete Wilson and Alan Cranston